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CSSR DAILY: WEST BLOCKS MBFR AGREEMENT

AU171219 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 15 Dec 82 p 7

[M. Smolik article: "Prior to the Recess in the Vienna Negotiations; Who Is Blocking Agreement?"]

[Text] A recess lasting until January 1983 will be announced in the Hofburg Palace in Vienna, an old imperial seat, in which in the past war plans were hatched and where in recent weeks diplomats from 19 countries have been meeting within the framework of, already, the 28th round of the negotiations on the reduction of the number of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. It will be impossible to depict this latest round of the marathon negotiations, which have now been going for more than 9 years, as successful. Rather it must be depicted as another round of missed opportunities. Why is there no prospect of an agreement on the horizon yet, a matter which — to put it mildly -- is not normal and cannot be justified even by the extraordinary sensitiveness and complexity of the problems discussed? What is the reason for the marking of time? And who has been holding the negotiations back?

The causes are not difficult to locate. To any attempt to reach an agreement there have to be two sides. When only one side shows good will and the other again erects artificial barriers it is difficult to find a common language. At these marathon negotiations, the Western delegations have become champions of obstruction par excellence; to a number of initiatives and proposals of a compromise character they have always responded evasively -- not to mention making any constructive response. During the most recent rounds for Western delegations have been avoiding a matter-of-fact discussion of an important initiative of the socialist countries, which submitted a proposal for an "agreement on mutually reducing the number of armed forces and limiting armaments, and on measures associated with this in the first stage." In the end, some points of that proposal, which constitutes a passable path to the core of the matter -- to a genuine and practical reduction -- were "answered" after all. And the result is more playing tactics and more obstructions. They put on the table also their own draft proposal which confirms that, despite all the nice words about equality and nonpartiality, NATO has not abandoned its unrealistic concept of a so-called asymmetric reduction and it continues to strive to gain unilateral advantages to the detriment of the socialist countries' security. Under most various fabrications and pretexts, the West is striving for nothing more or less than to make the Warsaw Pact states reduce the number of their troops in central Europe by 260,000 men, while the NATO countries would reduce by only 90,000 men. The Western participants in the Vienna talks are keeping a free hand to be able to continue arming and to be able in the end to upset the current parity of forces in central Europe. And here also is the reason why -- despite the agreement already achieved in this respect -- they are pressing not to discuss the reduction of armaments at all. The West also rejects "freezing" the numbers of the armed forces of the states which are not to participate in the first stage of reductions (all participants with the exception of the USSR and the United States.) Another proof of the unreality of the Western proposal is that it wants to extend the validity of some control measures to include all Warsaw Pact countries, but at the same time to exclude from that sphere the territories of the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Norway, Denmark and several other NATO states. It is clear what the West is pursuing: unilateral advantages.

The fact that the West does not react to the good will of the socialist countries and to their important stimuli and compromise proposals, cannot but elicit the question whether the NATO countries want to reach an agreement at all, or whether they might not be using the negotiations to conceal quite different intentions and plans. The fact is, namely, that the objective set for Vienna -- reducing the number of armed forces and armaments -- is at direct variance with their giant military budgets, far-reaching armament programs and doctrines about a limited nuclear war in Europe or about the permissibility of a first strike. The fact that the policy of the NATO and, above all, of Reagan's Washington has concentrated on a feverish arms buildup and on achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union, is the cause of the West's nonconstructive position at the negotiations. And thus no matter how much the socialist countries in Vienna press for the negotiations -- after almost 10 years of ant-like work -- to move into a qualitatively new stage, for the common positions and the agreement achieved on various issues thus far to begin at last to be projected into a written text of the first agreement, nothing is happening in this respect. And at the same time there is no doubt that the process of formulating the individual points and sections of the first agreement would contribute to resolving the still open key issues, concerning the reduction of the number of troops and the limitation of armaments, and also to concretely determining these or other associated measures.

Before the conclusion of the 28th round of the Vienna negotiations it is necessary to stress that in the course of these marathon negotiations, which have lasted more than 9 years now, the socialist countries have proved many times that, in the interest of agreement, they are willing to meet their counterparts halfway. However, compromises must be sensible, they cannot ignore the interest of equal security of the two negotiating parties. And this is precisely what the Western proposal does. To sum up: What the West wants is to hold back as much as possible the achievement of the agreement, to complicate the negotiations and to make possible a further feverish arms buildup.

POLISH CSCE ENVOY: NORMALIZATION MAY HELP TALKS

NC142022 Paris AFP in English 2003 GMT 14 Dec 82

[Text] Madrid, Dec 14 (AFP) -- The forthcoming "normalisation" in Poland might help break the deadlock at the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Jozef Wiejacz said here today.

Mr Wiejacz, speaking to reporters on the conference fringe, admitted that the deadlock had no link with the Polish situation, but insisted, nevertheless, that the normalisation steps just announced by the government in Warsaw might have "a positive influence" on the conference.

Poland, he said, will not fall back into "the mistakes of the past," and cited as positive elements the increase in Polish production and "better church-state relations."

BTA ON 17 DECEMBER PRESS CONFERENCE IN SOFIA

AU171548 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] Sofia, December 17 (BTA) -- For us the 'Rome case Antonov' is an unqualifiable political provocation against the People's Republic of Bulgaria, made to trigger out and to feed a really unprecedented so far anti-Bulgarian and antisocialist campaign, said the director general of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY, Mr Boyan Traykov, at a big press conference in Sofia today.

The BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY is authorized to express Bulgaria's attitude towards the ungrounded accusations against the Bulgarian citizens Sergey Antonov, Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyu Vasilev, as well as towards the slanders against Bulgaria that they have something to do with the attempt on the life of the head of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Paul II, said he.

In the press conference took part Rositsa Antonova, Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyu Vasilev and the Turkish citizen Bekir Celenk, who answered the questions of more than 100 Bulgarian and over 150 foreign journalists.

Rositsa Antonova is the wife of the arrested in Rome Sergey Antonov. According to the Western newspapers, she has allegedly played "a big and ever leading" role in the plotted attempt.

Todor Ayvaszov is head of the Financial Department of the Bulgarian Embassy in Rome. He is accused of having met Agca -- the Turkish terrorist, who fired a shot against the pope, and has specified with him the plan for the attempt.

Zhelyu Vasilev is a major of the Bulgarian People's Army, until recently secretary to the Bulgarian military attache in Rome. Similar charges are raised against him.

Mr Boyan Taykov said, that though no guilt has been proved or decreed, already thousands of publications and broadcasts in the Western mass media have declared these Bulgarian citizens as guilty of complicity in the attempt on the life of the pope.

"It is well known since the time of the Roman legislation that everyone is free of guilt until the proving of his culpability, while culpability on the other hand is proved by a verdict enacted" stressed the director general of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY.

Many colleagues, he went on, seem to have forgotten this principle and freely, directly, categorically and even shamelessly are condemning Bulgaria, thus inadmissible tarnishing the honour and the dignity of the Bulgarian people.

Mr Boyan Traykov stressed that "the accusations" with the respective "evidences" borne against Antonov, Ayvazov and Vasilev are so ungrounded that very often they fail to last a single day. Recalling the published picture of Antonov, which came out to be taken by an American citizen, the writings about big sums of money, suitcases full of documents and a pistol found in Antonov, Mr Boyan Traykov said "short-lived as evidences, they were inculcated on the minds of millions of people". The subsequent announcement disproving them was squeezed into a single line.

He said that everything that is known so far, is nothing more than journalistic stories based on the so-called "leaked information" from the Roman court of justice or a mere fruit of fantasies.

For more than twenty days, since the arrest of Antonov, the world public has not been familiar with any official information, while the Bulgarian side itself has not been officially and argumentedly informed about the charges against Antonov.

What is more no meeting is being allowed of Antonov with an official Bulgarian representative, to become acquainted with his condition, said Mr Boyan Traykov.

It is a question of duty for the Bulgarian state to help every Bulgarian citizen who is in trouble, irrespective of his official or social status, and to defend accordingly his legitimate rights until it is proved that he is guilty, underlined BTA director general.

He informed that with a view to the particular importance of the case the Bulgarian competent authorities have entrusted a team of specialists with the all-round, detailed and complex investigation of all the circumstances, related to the charges against the Bulgarian citizens and against Bekir Celenk of complicity in the attempt on the life of the pontiff. From the materials, depositions and witnesses' testimony it is completely clear that Antonov does not know, has not met and has nothing to do with the terrorist Agca, nor with persons who have a direct or an indirect link with Agca or with the attempt. At the time of the attempt Antonov was not on San Pietro Square, nor anyplace near it.

The same is equally valid for Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyu Vasilev.

We undertook the case of Sergey Antonov because after a careful check it has been established that there is neither organization, nor a person in Bulgaria who could have ordered or had ordered Antonov or anybody else to assassinate Pope John Paul II, said Mr Boyan Traykov.

He underlined that no state with self respect in the world can proclaim a person of being guilty before his being sentenced in a regular procedure. That is why along with the whole enormous campaign about this case, along with everything else an attempt seems to be made to influence the decisions of the juridical bodies in Italy.

Mr Boyan Traykov said that Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people do not have and cannot have any participation in terrorist plots and actions. Terrorism, he added, is incompatible with the principles and the essence of our policy, of our ideology, of the Marxist-Leninist teachings, which guide us in our efforts aimed at the attainment of social progress.

Mr Boyan Traykov recalled the Bulgarian cooperation in rendering hijackers harmless, our cooperation in the seizing of the four terrorists who were given to the Federal Republic of Germany. And many thanks have been expressed to Bulgaria for these activities.

It is plain, said Mr Boyan Traykov that here have the launching of a determined, wide-front and active anti-Bulgarian and anti-socialist campaign. [sentence as received] Regarding its organization, internal mechanism, and stages of development as well as the timing of the campaign, a conclusion can be drawn that the campaign had been pre-determined and planned while at present it is being simply actuated and steered.

The beginning was spelt three months ago with an article published in the American magazine READERS' DIGEST followed by the so-called "documentary" shown by the American television company N.B.C., then followed a poll of the special commission of the Congress of the United States, supervising the application of the Helsinki accords, which blamed the Italian court of failing to see "the Bulgarian connection" in the assassination attempt against the pope's life. After this, quite undergrounded accusations were levelled at the Bulgarian Sergey Antonov and this was accompanied by much, very much noise.

The aims of the campaign, said the director general of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY, Mr Boyan Traykov, are many and multilateral.

It should influence the feelings of millions of Catholics inculcating hatred toward communism. It should divert the thoughts of the working people and the public from the problems of the economic and social crisis in the capitalist countries, from the new NATO decisions for super-arming. The campaign is aimed at shifting terrorism -- a limited phenomenon of capitalism -- into a policy and action of the socialist countries. It is aimed at instigating certain moods among part of the Polish people, taking into consideration that the pontiff is a Pole, moods anti-Bulgarian and against some other countries, at a time when the situation in Poland is gradually tranquilized and a process of normalization has started. The campaign is aimed at blighting the hopes for a lasting detente, international understanding and cooperation. It should slander and discredit the policy, the example and the image of socialist Bulgaria.

"The campaign is completely in the letter and spirit of the global strategy of imperialism and, more concretely of the crusade against socialism, proclaimed in the speech of the U.S. President Ronald Reagan before the British Parliament, said Mr Boyan Traykov.

Despite the sufficient grounds for disappointment, he expressed hope that the Italian authorities of legal inquest and personally Mr Ilario Martella will be principled and just, that Antonov will be released and the slandering campaign against Bulgaria halted.

I wish to express confidence, ended Mr Boyan Traykov, that the good friendly relations between Bulgaria and Italy will not be tarnished and that they will continue to develop increasingly favourably in the conditions of mutual respect between the Bulgarian and the Italian people.

After that the floor was given to the journalists.

Etore Petta of the Italian newspaepr CORRIERE DE LA SERRA asked Mr Boyan Traykov whether he considered him and his colleagues from the other Western countries as instruments, as collaborators in the anti-Bulgarian and antisocialist campaign.

Boyan Traykov: "If we did not have an attitude of trust towards all of you, we wouldn't have invited you to this press conference. We rely on all of you, that led by the principles of the ethics and moral of our highly humane profession, you shall help in the solving of this extremely unpleasant case."

Then Mr Todor Ayvazov took the floor to explain that he has left Italy because he has been recalled to Bulgaria in connection with the end of the fiscal year and in connection with some new features in the new financial year. Until his arrival to Bulgaria no Italian employee has spoken to him, neither has he been informed that he had to be interrogated in connection with the assassination attempt against the pope.

In an extensive question-statement the corespondent of the Italian television asked how was it possible for Ali Agca to recognize Ayvazov, Antonov and Vasilev on photographs among the scores of photographs given to him, if they have never seen him, have not met him and have not been together. And another thing, where from Agca has learned the address of Ayvazov in Rome and how did he manage to describe his home?

The correspondent showed a photograph made by an American reporter at the San Pietro Square on the day of the attempt and asked Ayvazov whether he has seen it and could he recognize himself on it.

Mr Boyan Traykov answered that even if Agca had named Antonov, Ayvazov and Vasilev when shown the photographs, this does not prove anything, because he could have been told these names. While speaking about the interior of Ayvazov's home, Mr Traykov said that one can get familiar with the interior of a house from photographs, even in colour, which can be brought to him.

Looking at the photograph brought to the press conference, Todor Ayvazov said that the man in question on it, whose figure is very dark and photographed in the back, is by no means him.

Asked whether he is ready to declare, as he had already done before his honour and the honour of his country, Ayvazov answered that he is ready to do this but fears, though innocent, to be accused and detained as it has already happened with the innocent Bulgarian citizen Sergey Antonov.

Asked whether she knew anything about the health condition of her husband, Mrs Rositsa Antonova said: "I shall seize the opportunity to express my protest against the detention of my husband Sergey Antonov, a detention based solely on the absurd allegations of a confirmed criminal and to protest against the fabrifications about any complicity of mine in the assassination attempt.

"My husband, whom I know very well, cannot have anything to do with such an inhuman act, as is the assassination attempt on the life of the pope."

Mrs Antonova announced also that she has applied for an entry visa to Italy and that she has asked that a letter be given to her husband. She has been accepted by the ambassador of Italy in Sofia, who has "comforted" her that her husband Sergey Antonov was detained and is kept under good conditions. It was only today that Mrs Antonova received an entry Italian visa. She is ready to leave for Italy right now, provided her safety is guaranteed.

Up to this moment, said Mrs Rositsa Antonova, neither she nor the Bulgarian Embassy in Rome had received any reliable information on the health condition of Sergey Antonov. "I am seriously alarmed that there could be any manipulations with his health" said Mrs Rositsa Antonova.

"I have absolutely nothing in common with the assassination attempt" said Major Zhelyu Vasilev, former secretary of the Bulgarian military attache in Rome. "The press in Italy and in other Western countries showered a heap of fantastic fabrications in my address, accusing me of complicity in that monstrous act, which my consciousness deeply condemns.

And along with this my homeland was vilified in a manner unworthy of any self-respecting author."

Asked whether he had carried a weapon while in Italy, he answered that as an employee of the embassy in Rome, he has strictly abided by the Italian laws and has carried no weapons. He said also that after the murder of Aldo Moro, the Bulgarian Embassy took no advantage of the permission of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to name some employees to be armed.

A representative of the Italian newspaper GIORNALE NUOVO asked Mr Boyan Traykov how will he comment on the fact that Agca, a killer and terrorist wanted the world over, has succeeded to enter Bulgaria, to stay 50 days in the top de luxe hotel in Sofia and not be seized by the Bulgarian militia.

Mr Boyan Traykov answered that he can neither confirm, nor deny the fact because it is not known whether Agca had passed through Bulgaria. According to the Western newspapers, he had been also in Italy, Switzerland, the FRG, and many other "Interpol" member-countries and, irrespective of the fact that the authorities in all these countries have been notified by Turkey that he was wanted by the Turkish police, he has not been arrested there, too.

Moreover, contrary to the Western states, Bulgaria has not been warned specially, neither had she a request or a signal from the Turkish side.

Mr Boyan Traykov underlined that six mi lion foreigners are passing yearly through Bulgaria and that the Bulgarian authorities do not know, cannot know and are not interested in who is what, we, said here, are a hospitable tourist country, with a visa-free tourist regime, in which everybody is welcome.

The correspondent of the Italian radio announced that it is stated in Agca's testimony that he has met Bekir Celenk in Sofia, in the Vitosha Hotel, room number 910, and that, at that time, Agca has also met two Bulgarians. Why Celenk has not been arrested when he has stayed in Sofia for so long, asked the Italian journalist.

Mr Boyan Traykov answered that whether there has been any meeting between Agca and Celenk, is a matter for Mr Celenk to answer. Mr Boyan Traykov said that as far as he knows, after the assasination attempt against the pope, Mr Celenk has paid several visits to Italy, many visits to the Federal Republic of Germany, and has been travelling almost constantly. "He has passed through Sofia, just like he has passed through Italy, Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany, through the whole of Europe. Interpol has been looking for him, as you insist, said the director general of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY. Why hasn't he been arrested in some of these countries, they are all of them members of Interpol..."

The question was asked whether Mr Bekir Celenk will be given to the Turkish authorities, or whether he will be given to the Italian authorities which are conducting the investigation into the assassination attempt against the pope.

After the Turkish side presents her grounds for the extradition of Mr Celenk, solely the Chief Prosecutor's Office in Bulgaria is competent to decide the matter for the extradition, said Mr Boyan Traykov.

Asked whether Celenk won't be considered as having escaped from Turkey for political reasons, Mr Boyan Traykov answered that this is a matter to be decided by the Chief Prosecutor's Office, after studying the grounds as given by the Turkish side.

Bulgaria is a law-governed state with a legislation which makes no difference between the people, irrespective of their social and any other status. Bulgaria is a country which strictly observes her own and the international laws, said Mr Boyan Traykov in reply to the noisy questions and accusations levelled by the Italian journalist (Lino Canu) from the IL MESSAGGERO, namely that the two arrested Italian citizens and the arrested Turkish citizen Bekir Celenk have been kept in different conditions.

On the question about the conditions under which the control of Bulgarian authorities over Celenk is being exercised Mr Boyan Traykov said that the journalists present at the conference will be able to judge by themselves these condition, when Celenk will be brought to the hall.

Speaking about the two Italian citizens, Traykov said that they really have been arrested in the very act of offence, with evidence of their quilt and that naturally the investigation will be followed by trial.

Asked whether the Bulgarian side has offered any exchange of these Italian citizens for Sergey Antonov as it was distributed by the Western mass media, Mr Boyan Traykov answered that this was one more case of misused truth in the West.

He added that no one in Bulgaria thought it possible that the Italian ambassador in Sofia could have incorrectly rendered his conversation with a representative of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry. Where else this version for the swapping then? Apparently it has been fabricated, it has been devised, he asked.

He said that the Bulgarian side has under no form -- direct or indirect -- offered and cannot propose the swapping of a man, whom we consider innocent for two people -- in this specific case Italian citizens, who have been detained on the spot of the crime and what is more with material evidence proving their guilt.

An Italian journalist asked why the Bulgarian side does not help the Italian legal authorities, why does it not facilitate them to clear out all the circumstances. He was answered that no one has asked Bulgaria officially for help and assistance. In this case cooperation should be sought out by the Italian justice.

Speaking of the attitude of the Bulgarian authorities towards Bekir Celenk and whom he serves Mr Boyan Traykov said: Until putting Bekir Celenk under the control of the Bulgarian authorities we have not had any suspicions or suppositions, or any information about any criminal activities on his part. [sentence as received] Otherwise we would have arrested him immediately, while whom he serves he can answer only himself.

Asked what are the reasons of the Italian authorities to refuse contacts of an official Bulgarian representative with Sergey Antonov, Mr Boyan Traykov said that he should not have been asked this question but the Italian magistrate's office.

He said that official representatives of the Italian Embassy have been permitted here to meet with the arrested Italians and not only once. A meeting of the arrested with their relatives was permitted, too.

The matter was raised about the visits of Mr Scricciolo to Bulgaria.

Mr Scricciolo's visits to Bulgaria have been checked out, said Mr Boyan Traykov. It has been established that Mr Scricciolo has come to Bulgaria only as a tourist, as one of the millions of tourists, visiting the country, and not at an invitation of official Bulgarian representatives.

To the question stating that in uncovering various affairs, the name of Bulgaria is mentioned quite too often, Mr Boyan Traykov said that since 1300 years Bulgaria has been situated on the crossroads of the Balkan Peninsula. It goes without saying that this crossroads is a place crossed by many people and various people, representatives of all walks of life, people of many and different intentions. You are hinting, Mr Traykov went on addressing the Italian journalist, and you have not stated it but I will, at the drugs and arms traffic.

"In the first place by seizing more than one trafficker on the Bulgarian frontier, by seizing great quantities of drugs, we have proven beyond any doubt that we have been working very attentively and very hard, employing all means at our disposal, to stop the traffic of drugs across Bulgaria. Note, we are doing this in spite of the fact that our country is not threatened by this danger, for the time being at least, thank heaven. We, on our borders, if I can put it like that, we are protected. We have seized illegally carried arms, and every one seized has been treated as a criminal, the weapons have been confiscated, and the criminal -- tried and condemned, said Mr Boyan Traykov. "But", he went on "in order to reach America does a drug pass through Bulgaria only, having started from the poppyfields of Turkey or some other Eastern country? The drug crosses the whole of Europe. A lot of speculations have accompanied the misses. Why the accusations are levelled solely against Bulgaria, why are not the countries attacked, across which the drug and arms traffic has passed unnoticed," asked Mr Traykov.

Bekir Celenik was brought into the conference hall escorted by two uniformed armed militiamen. Mr Boyan Traykov, BTA director general, introduced him, pointing out that (?he is the) Turkish citizen who, according to the Western mass media, has been operating under the guidance of the Bulgarian authorities, that he reportedly met the Turkish terrorist Agca, discussed with him the attempt against the pope, has promised him or given him a big sum of money, etc.

Before being left to answer the questions of the journalists, Celenk was given the floor by Mr Boyan Traykov.

Celenk thanked the Bulgarian authorities for the opportunity to meet with journalists, to express his position, to defend himself against the slanders levelled at me for complicity in this dirty act. The attempt on the head of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II.

"I express here my confidence that you will conscientiously report all facts and will help find out the truth about this black crime with which I have nothing to do, said he.

Rejecting all slanders alleging my participation in this crime, regretfully I am forced to voice my protest to the Bulgarian authorities for the investigation authorities' restricting my freedom", Mr Celenk went on. [sentence as received]

I arrived in Bulgaria with regular documents as a businessman, who maintains business contacts with many countries, Bulgaria being one of them. I am a shipowner and I have two business offices -- one in Munich and the other — in London. My relations with the firms and the institutions with which I maintain business contacts, have been defined in commercial law and in compliance with the local laws of the countries I am staying in. In this connection I would like to state my embitterment that the mass media in some countries are ascribing to me all sorts of improbable crimes or complicities in crimes.

Mr Celenk said that he was ready to answer any questions related to "this vile accusation".

Celenk at Press Conference

NC171456 Paris AFP in English 1449 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] Sofia, Dec 17 (AFP) — Turkish shopkeeper Bekir Celenk, accused of paying money to the man convicted of trying to assassinate Pope John Paul II, today denied any involvement in the affair.

"I had no part in the plot against the pope," Mr Celenk, being held by Bulgarian authorities, said at a press conference here. "If I was involved...I would not have stayed in Europe, I would have left for Asia or another continent."

Mr Celenk has been accused of paying off Mehmet Ali Agca, serving a life sentence in Italy for the assassination attempt.

He said at the press conference that he was prepared to go to Rome to argue his innocence before investigating Judge Ilario Martella "if the Bulgarian authorities permit it," and "if I am given guarantees that I will not be arrested on my arrival in Rome."

(A report received in Vienna said the Bulgarian prosecutor had invited Judge Martella to come to Sofia, and had offered his assistance in the investigation.)

(In Rome today, the English-language newspaper, DAILY AMERICAN, said Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu had been informed in April 1981, by Romanian diplomats in Sofia, of a Bulgarian plan to assassinate the pope, and that he sought to dissuade Sofia authorities.)

(Quoting "Romanian diplomats who recently arrived in Europe to renegotate Romania's external debt," the paper said Bulgarian authorities replied to President Ceausescu that his information was unfounded.)

ZHIVKOV LEADS PARTY STATE DELEGATION TO MOSCOW

Departs With Tanchev, Todorov

AU200841 Sofia BTA in English 0812 GMT 20 Dec 82

[Text] Sofia Dec 20 (BTA) -- A Bulgarian party and state delegation headed by the secretary gen al of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council, Mr Todor Zhivkov, left for Moscow this morning.

The delegation was invited by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for the solemn celebration of the 60th anniversary of the USSR.

The delegation includes the secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and first vice-president of the State Council, Mr Petur Tanchev, the member of the Politburo of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the National Assembly, Mr Stanko Todorov and the member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Mr Milko Balev.

Dyulgerov Represents TU CC

AU191915 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Dec 82

[Text] At the invitation of the All Union Soviet Trade Unions Central Council, Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, left for Moscow today to attend the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union.

FOUR SENTENCED FOR 'SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES'

NC171725 Paris AFP in English 1714 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] Prague, Dec 17 (AFP) -- Four young Czechoslovaks accused of distributing "subversive" leaflets were today handed down prison sentences of between one and four years, sources close to them said.

Jan Wunscha, 25, was given four years, Vaclav Soukup, 23, three years, Jitka Tumova, 23, 15 months and Josef Wunsch, 19, one year. Wunsch and Soukup will remain under house arrest for two years after serving their sentences. They were found guilty of "subversive activities, inciting to rebellion and theft of socialist property (copying material).

The main charge was of having written and issued leaflets signed by a "revolutionary action group" calling on Czechoslovaks to protest following the proclamation of a state of siege in Poland and stating that the "Polish workers' struggle" had objectives similar to the "Prague spring".

Wunsch, who denied all charges against him, was said to have been the "ringleader" and to have had contacts with Polish "subversive elements" from the trade union grouping Solidarity. Both Wunsch, a signatory of the human rights "Charter 77", and Soukup said they had suffered violence during interrogation.

RUDE PRAVO CITES VATICAN FOR 'GROSS INTERFERENCE'

LF171412 Prague CTK in English 0816 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] Prague -- Czechoslovakia is a sovereign state and cannot allow the Vatican to discuss the commitment of its citizens, RUDE PRAVO said today in connection with the hostile steps of some Vatican officials against the association of Czech and Slovak Catholic clergymen Pacem in Terris.

The daily pointed out that the Vatican has decided to gradually liquidate this association. Under a decree issued by Vatican Cardinal Oddi, high-level Catholic clergymen such as bishops and vicars are not allowed to attend any events organized by Pacem in Terris. Archbishop Frantisek Tomasek of Prague began to see to it that this decree is consistently fulfilled in Czechoslovakia. "This step of the Vatican cannot be characterized otherwise than as an attempt at gross interference in the affairs of citizens of this country" RUDE PRAVO stressed and added that "we cannot permit Catholic priests committed in Pacem in Terris to be persecuted for their peace-oriented and patriotic activities".

Czechoslovakia is a country where the relationship between the state and the church is based on constitutional rights and laws. The Czechoslovak Constitution guarantees all people the right to participate in the struggle for the most precious human right, for peace. This right is guaranteed also to Catholic clergymen and cannot be denied them by anyone, RUDE PRAVO stressed.

The daily said the Vatican has a double yardstick for church dignitaries in the socialist countries, one for those who actively support the struggle for peace, the building of socialism and are pleased by the successes of their country. Those are attacked, persecuted and are being threatened with church penalties, and the other for those who try to destroy socialism, those are glorified in Rome. RUDE PRAVO also noted that Polish Bishop Tkoarczuk who urges Polish Catholics to disrupt the consolidation process in the country is not restricted in his activities.

Various slanderers of Czechoslovakia in the West are not pleased that there is calm in Czechoslovakia, that people of different philosophical orientations and religious convictions work side by side in accord. Atheists and believers are not willing to let themselves be set against one another because of their opinions, all wish to work in calm and peace, RUDE PRAVO added.

OFFICIALS FLY TO MOSCOW FOR USSR ANNIVERSARY

Husak Departure

LD201038 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0900 GMT 20 Dec 82

[Report from Ruzyne Airport by Stanislaz Benda and Petr Voldan on departure for Moscow of CSSR state-party delegation led by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic -- live]

[Text] Ruzyne Airport is decorated with Czechoslovak and Soviet state flags. The special aircraft is waiting on the apron in front of the airport lounge: It will take a Czechoslovak party and state delegation to Moscow, headed by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic. The delegation also includes Comrades Lubomir Strougal, Alois Indra and Vasil Bilak. In Moscow they will be joined by our ambassador to the Soviet Union, Cestmir Lovetinsky. Now Comrade Gustav Husak is shaking hands with heads of departments of the CPCZ Central Committee, deputy premiers and ministers of the federal government. The head of state is being seen off at Ruzyne Airport also by officials of the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council, as well as officials of political parties and National Front social organizations, high-ranking officers of the Czechoslovak People's Army, and other representatives of our political and public life.

Comrade Husak and the other members of the delegation are being seen off for the celebrations to mark the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. We marked this historic occasion in Czechoslovakia last week with a festive rally in Prague's Palace of Culture, as well as by other events throughout our country; not only in Prague's Palace of Culture, but at all the events we heard hearty congratulations to the Soviet people, which will be conveyed by our delegation in Moscow. And now Comrade Gustav Husak and the other members of the delegation are approaching the special aircraft, where they are awaited by members and candidate members of the Presidium, secretaries and members of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee, and the chairman of the party's Central Control and Auditing Commission. Around the aircraft are members of the Pioneers, who give the delegation members bouquets of red carnations.

[Voice out of range of microphones says a few indistinct words] You have just heard the greeting by the aircraft's captain, and now these are the last seconds before the departure of Comrade Gustav Husak and other members of the delegation to Moscow, capital of the Soviet Union. A few final farewell words, a wave fom the aircraft steps, and now the special aircraft is setting off on its journey to Moscow.

Hoffman, TU Group

LD191502 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 19 Dec 82

[Text] A delegation of the Central Trade Union Council, led by Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, flew into Moscow today to take part in the celebrations marking the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. The delegation was invited by the All-Union Central Trade Union Council [AUCCTU]. At the airport the delegation was warmly welcomed by AUCCTU Chairman Stepan Shalayev and other Soviet officials.

SOVIET AMBASSADOR RECEIVES WEST BERLIN MAYOR

AU181726 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Dec 82 p 2

[TASS/ADN report: "Ambassador Abrasimov Received Von Weizsaecker"]

[Text] Berlin (TASS/ADN) -- On Wednesday Petr Abrasimov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, received Richard von Weizsaecker, the mayor of West Berlin. Problems of mutual interest were discussed during the talks which took place in an openminded and businesslike atmosphere.

USSR ANNIVERSARY PROMPTS BERLIN CELEBRATIONS

Officials, Dignitaries Attend

LD172026 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1549 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Berlin, 17 Dec (ADN) -- The SED Central Committee, the GDR Council of State and the Council of Ministers at a festive event at the German State Opera in Berlin on Friday paid tribute to the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, conveyed in his speech fraternal militant greetings and most cordial congratulations on the anniversary to the CPSU Central Committee and its general secretary Yuriy Andropov, the USSR Government and the whole Soviet people. Participants in the festive event which commenced with the playing of the national anthems of the USSR and GDR were members of the GDR party and state leadership, other personalities of social life and representatives of the Soviet Union in the GDR.

Apart from Erich Honecker, the participants in the festive event welcomed members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo: Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Werner Felfe, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Heinz Hoffmann, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann and Harry Tisch; Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Inge Lange, Guenter Schabowski and Gerhard Schuerer; Prof Dr Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front; Dr Manfred Gerlach, Gerald Goetting; Prof Dr Heinrich Homann and Dr Ernst Mecklenburg, deputy chairmen of the GDR Council of State; Manfred Flegel, Hans-Joachim Heusinger, Dr Hans Reichelt, Rudolph Schulze, Dr Gerhard Weiss and Dr Herbert Weiz, deputy chairmen of the GDR Council of Ministers; and also other members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee, members of the Council of Ministers, the Presidium of the People's Chamber and the Council of State.

Cordially welcomed were Petr Abrasimov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR; Army General Mikhail Zaytsev, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany; Col Gen Aleksey Lizichev, member of the Military Council and head of the Political Directorate of the group; Army General Ivan Shavrov, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty states in the National People's Army, other generals and officers of the Soviet Army and the members of the delegation of the Soviet-GDR Friendship Society headed by Zoya Novozhilova, deputy chairman of the society's Central Council and RSFSR deputy minister of education.

Among those attending the festive event were personages of the German-Soviet Friendship Society and other social organizations, generals and officers of the GDR Armed Forces, meritorious workers, veterans of the revolutionary workers' movement and young people. Heads of diplomatic missions accredited to the GDR were among the guests. Following Erich Honecker's speech the "Internationale" was played.

Honecker Speaks 17 Dec

DW171643 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1500 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR State Council, at a festive function of the SED Central Committee. The GDR State Council and the Council of Ministers in Berlin's State Opera, marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR — live]

[Text] Dear friends and comrades, esteemed ladies and gentlemen of the diplomatic corps, esteemed audience: A few days from now the USSR will complete its 60th year of existence. When it was founded on 30 December 1922, something entirely new entered into mankind's life. The first and unified national state of workers and peasants had been created. It embodied the solid alliance of equal nations united of their own free will. Thus only a short time after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution under the leadership of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, and the party of the Bolsheviks, the implementation of an ancient ideal of mankind was undertaken which may be summed up as follows: friendship, fraternity, equality and cooperation of the nations.

In the "Communist Manifesto," Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels stated that hostile antagonism among nations can be made to fall only when the capitalist class rule disappears. This great work was accomplished in the Soviet Union. The national question as a component of the social issue was solved. Over 6 decades the Soviet Union, in which a new historical community of man, the Soviet people, emerged, has produced the convincing proof of the correctness of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It has provided an everlasting example of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism. [applause]

The founding of the USSR was an event of international significance. This gave the working people all the more strength to master the tasks of the building of socialism and to develop the immense material and cultural potential of the country. Relying on its indestructible alliance, the family of more than 100 nationalities and ethnic groups weathered the hardest tests of history. They victoriously defended the revolutionary achievements against counterrevolution and imperialist aggression. The Soviet people are today successfully implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress on the further march toward communism.

More than ever before, the USSR, the main force of our socialist community, proves its worth as the trailblazer for a better and happier future of mankind. It is the most powerful bulwark of peace and socialism and of progress in our era. In this respect Leonid Ilich Brezhnev achieved outstanding merits. We will always honor him and what he achieved for our common cause of socialism and peace in our memory. [applause]

The communists and all working people of the GDR observe the 60th anniversary of the USSR as a common holiday. For this reason we feel all the more profoundly that the peoples of our two countries have become such close friends, fighting comrades and allies. On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council, the Council of Ministers and the citizens of our socialist GDR, I convey to the CPSU Central Committee and general secretary Yuriy Andropov, to the USSR Government and to all the Soviet people our fraternal militant greetings and the most cordial congratulations on the 60th anniversary of the USSR. [applause]

Esteemed audience, dear friends and comrades, the change of the world by the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917 opened the way toward liberating the peoples from the shackles of the capitalist past. By establishing the worker-peasant power in formerly tsarist Russia, the fateful historical cycle was destroyed in which one exploiting regime was always merely followed by another.

Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, leader of the Communist Party of Germany, wrote that on 7 November 1917 the proletariat seized power for the first time not just for a second in world history, but for good. For the first time the proletariat won not just a battle but an entire war against the exploiters of the world. This victory laid the foundation for the realization of true human dignity, freedom and democracy, and for social security, work and food, and education and culture. Thus it was also possible to create a community of peoples who do not know the class society which is characterized by exploitation. The declaration of the rights of the peoples of Russia, inspired by Lenin and adopted by the Soviet power as early as November 1917, contained this community's principles, the most important of which were freedom and equality, equal rights and the sovereignty of all peoples, the right to self-determination including secession, abolition of any national privileges and restrictions, and free development of the national minorities and ethnic groups.

The party of the Bolsheviks acted consistently as an opponent to national hostility, national feuding and national isolation. In Lenin's spirit it advocated a voluntary alliance of the nations which does not allow any use of force by one nation against another -- an alliance which is based on full confidence, a clear realization of the fraternal unity and on completely voluntary agreement. This characterizes the essence and significance of the act which founded the USSR 60 years ago.

This act has performed on 30 December 1922 by the First Soviet Congress which convened in the Moscow Bolshoy Theater. Delegates from Russia, the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, the Belorussian Socialist Soviet Republic and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic were assembled there. At the opening, (Milovich), member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, who was the oldest delegate, expressed the unanimous will of the working people of Russia, the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Gruziya, Armenia and Belorussia to merge the Soviet republics into a united whole and a powerful state -- the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This as done with the enthusiastic approval of all delegates.

The greatness of that hour and its importance not only for the development of the Soviet state but for mankind can be judged properly only on the basis of the historical experiences of six decades. A new era began in the life of the nations in the former tsarist prison of peoples. Firmly rallied around the party of Lenin, they jointly embarked on the road of socialism and peace.

Overcoming the disparities of the nations with regard to their economic and cultural level and establishing real equality became the practical tasks of the CPSU's nationalities policy. It was possible to cope with this task only under the leadership of the workers class and especially through the effective assistance by the Russian proletariat. In that respect the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic played the decisive role. It was from here that the signals of Red October went out to the world; it was here that the most important industrial centers were located.

The RSFSR became the solid basis for the development of the entire country. Thousands of Russian party functionaries, workers and specialists supported the other republics of the union in an internationalist manner. When the USSR received its first Constitution in the year following its founding, it declared to all world peoples and governments that it was putting into practice the fraternity of nations and creating the homeland of work on the gigantic territory extending from the Baltic Sea and the Black and the White Seas to the Pacific Ocean. It declared its firm will to promote friendly cooperation among all world peoples and it stated that it was its unshakable goal to maintain peace with all peoples. The USSR has always remained true to these proclamations, and has been fulfilling them from the very first day.

Dear friends and comrades, to the German Communists the founding of the USSR was a shining oriflamme -- as earlier the victory of Red October had been -- and a powerful encouragement in their struggle for the liberation of the workers class. Ernst Thaelmann stated that there is no significant political phenomenon in the world which is not influenced by the existence of the Soviet Union. He justly regarded the relationship with the CPSU and the Soviet Union itself as the criterion for judging to which camp one belongs -- to the camp of revolution or to the camp of counter-revolution.

This statement is as valid today as it was at that time, and it will also be valid tomorrow. Whoever holds friendship with the Soviet Union in high esteem moves with the future because the future does not belong to counterrevolution, but to revolution. [applause]

The Communist Party of Germany, which was involved in hard struggles with the class enemy in the early twenties, sent an ardent manifesto from its eighth party congress in February 1923 to Soviet Russia. The manifesto was read by Wilhelm Pieck and unanimously adopted. The party expressed thanks for the great lesson that the cause of the nation is the cause of the workers class, a lesson that has been indelibly written down in history. With that it combined the vow to muster all its strength to induce the German proletariat to follow the example of its Soviet brothers.

In the 60 years of the USSR's existence, it has been proven what workers and peasants are capable of achieving if they take their destiny into their own hands. The bast shoe had nearly proverbially characterized the backwardness of czarist Russia. The name of the Soviet Union, in contrast, is linked with the first peaceful atomic pile, the Sputnik and the first flight of man in the cosmos. Nobody has worked longer in space than have Soviet cosmonauts. Furthermore, USSR scientists can be found among the leaders of those who are trying to tame nuclear fusion.

Innumerable creative feats come from the country of Soviet power, which in its initial years had to overcome the illiteracy of millions. Today, about every fifth scientist in the world lives in the Soviet Union. While in 1922 the Soviet Union accounted for just about 1 percent of the world's industrial production, its share has meanwhile increased to one-fifth. In 60 years its industry has grown to 540 times its original level. Since 1971 its industrial production has doubled. To achieve that increase, the United States needed 18 years and Great Britain 30 years. The USSR holds first place in the production volume of 30 important products.

Petroleum and steel, tractors and numerically-controlled machinetools are some of these products. In Siberia, Central Asia and in the far north, the Soviet Union has a raw material and fuel basis which after its full exploitation will offer a secure future to the Soviet economy as well as to that of the other socialist countries well into the fourth millenium.

Commensurate with the character of socialism, the Soviet economy serves the well-being of the people. In just 3 days enough apartments for a city of 60,000 inhabitants are built in the USSR. This great social problem is gradually being solved there. While the present crisis in the capitalist countries has again made mass unemployment the scourge of working people, the last employment office in the Soviet Union closed in 1930.

Agriculture is increasingly satisfying the needs of the people. In this connection it is necessary to take into acount the fact that the USSR population increased from 178.5 million in 1950 to 264.5 million in 1979 -- that is by 86 million. During 1970-80 agricultural production increased much more rapidly than the population and with the new foodstuffs program, the prerequisites for a further comprehensive upswing in this field are being created.

Economic and social progress has reached peoples who before seemed to be condemned to dying out or to merely vegetating. In 1913 czarist officials calculated that the Kazakh people would need more than a century to overcome their backwardness vis-a-vis czarist Russia. However, since 1922 Kazakhstan has increased its industrial production 900 times. In the czarist Russia the Kirghizians together with about 40 other nationalities did not have their own written language. They got one in 1942 and today Chingiz Aytmatov, a Kirghizian, is one of the most read contemporary writers internationally. As everyone knows, the Soviet Union's rise to the current world power status was performed in wearisome embittered struggles. Imperialist intervention set the country back with its devastation. However, afterwards Soviet industry grew at a speed which provided peoples with initial concepts of the possibilities of socialism and its planned economy. During the brief period of peace and, above all, during the first 5-year plans, the powerful economic potential was created under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and Joseph Stalin -- a potential which stood the test in such an outstanding way during the Great Patriotic War. After the fascist invaders had been driven away, most Soviet cities and villages, factories and cooperatives, institutes, universities and schools were lying in ruins. The country had to be rebuilt and industrialized for a second time. This was achieved by the Soviet citizens under the leadership of their Communist Party, while at the same time breaking the United States' monopoly on nuclear weapons and by shouldering the main burden in the defense of world peace. The 60 years of the Soviet Union show that it is a blessing for mankind that the USSR exists. [prolonged applause]

Dear friends and comrades, the USSR is so far the only country to have implemented the evolved socialist society. It now is working successfully on building communism. In conformity with the decisions by the 26th CPSU Congress, the project of turning the giant national economy on to the road toward intensification was started. Higher standards of social effectiveness are becoming firm in the country's economic life. All this is in the spirit of the well-known saying of Lenin that in the final analysis labor productivity is the most important and decisive factor for the victory of the new social order. In this regard the party's leadership activities are increasingly permeated by economy, ideology and organization. The progressive industrialization of Siberia and of the north, the construction of the Baykal-Amur Magistrale, the Food Program for the period until 1990 and other large-scale projects have long attracted the attention of working people on all continents. They illustrate the degree of progress in this undertaking of the century. Everyone can be assured that the Soviet working people, who have performed such outstanding heroic deeds, will also master these tasks successfully. [prolonged applause]

Esteemed audience, dear friends and comrades, the victory in the Great Patriotic War at the decisive front of World War II was a gigantic feat of liberation by the Soviet Union and its glorious armed forces. Europe and mankind were saved from fascist barbarism. More than 20 million sons and daughters of the Soviet country sacrificed their lives to this end. Their heroism will never be forgotten. [prolonged applause]

The victory over Hitlerite fascism has strongly characterized the whole period of postwar development. Socialism entered a new stage in its development and a socialist world system emerged which increasingly strongly brings its influence to bear on all international processes. Socialism has so far gained a firm foothold on four continents. The national and social liberation movement has achieved an unprecedented upswing and the imperialist colonial system has crumbled to pieces.

The victory of the anti-Hitler coalition and of the glorious Soviet Army also provided the German people with the opportunity for a fundamentally new beginning and for overcoming the reactionary past. In the GDR we have taken advantage of this opportunity. The ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin are being inplemented in their native country; the teachings of Lenin are being translated into action here in the GDR. [prolonged applause]

Testifying to this are the emergence and stable development of the first socialist state of workers and peasants on German soil, which fulfills the legacy of the German antifascists and of the Soviet liberators.

Dear friends and comrades, glory and honor to the heroes of the Soviet Union and of the antifascist resistance who brought freedom to our people. [applause]

The fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union is today the most natural thing in the thinking and feeling of the people in our country. Generations have grown up in this spirit in kindergarten and school, and in the ranks of the Thaelmann Pioneers and of the FDJ. The friendship with the Soviet Union is alive everywhere in the GDR's life -- in interprises and research centers, in culture and in the personal relationships which emerge from the many meetings among people.

Shoulder to shoulder with their Soviet brothers in arms, the soldiers of the National People's Army protect socialism and peace along the Western border of our community. Glory and honor to our Soviet brothers in arms who mount the peace guard in the GDR. [prolonged applause]

During the sinister years of Hilterite tyranny, the German Communists and the other progressive forces always held friendship with the Soviet Union in high esteem. After the liberation by the glorious Soviet Army and especially after the merger of the main trends of the worker movement -- the Communist Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany -- into the SED, they made this friendship the possession of the whole people. The present and future generations will not forget that hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers acted as true friends of the German people after the days of May 1945, despite the immeasurable misery which fascism had carried into their homeland.

The experience gained by the workers, peasants and the members of the intelligentsia of our country with the Soviet Communists in uniform who shared their own bread with them, who stood by their side when it was necessary to get life going again and who ultimately helped them govern themselves. eliminated prejudice and error and created confidence. As a result a friendship of peoples grew which is as close and durable as socialism alone can make it. It has been crowned by the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 7 October 1975. We are energetically implementing this treaty in life. This friendship, I would like to state here, is not directed against any third party. Yet it will foil all hostile attacks and win new friends for socialism and peace. [applause]

In the GDR we are working to further strengthen socialism and effectively develop the economy so as the ensure and gradually enhance the working people's material and cultural standard of living which has been attained thus far. In keeping with the decision of the 10th SED Congress, we are continuing the steady economic growth that characterized the seventies into the eighties. Creative work and social security mark the daily life of our country's citizens. The better we succeed to utilize modern science and technology and rapidly increase labor productivity and effectiveness, the greater becomes the leeway for the further improvement in the people's working and living conditions. This characterizes the 1983 National Economic Plan which has been made law by the People's Chamber -- a plan which, as can be said even now, will become the militant program of all the people.

The important experiences of our party include the finding that the tasks in our own country can be solved better if cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries in the most diversifield social fields is broader and more effective. We cope with all vital concerns in close alliance with the country of Lenin. In the year of the GDR's founding, for example, the mutual goods exchange amounted to a round [figure indistinct] billion.

At the beginning of the eighties the interlocking of our economies has advanced quite far. The flow of the goods exchange in 1981 was worth M50 billion and, in keeping with the long-term agreement signed in March 1981 for the 1981-85 period, it is to reach a volume of more than M270 billion. This, dear friends and comrades, is the biggest foreign trade volume between any two world states.

In 175 agreements on cooperation in research and production, this volume finds a solid basis. The program of specialization and cooperation of production of our two countries is being implemented systematically -- a program which contains the prospects of cooperation for this decade.

The network of cooperation develops most rapidly wherever the most important decisions on the future of our peoples are made. Just this week the meeting of the GDR-USSR Joint Government Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation in Berlin testified to this again with valuable results. As agreed, we are jointly tackling new tasks in the fields of microelectronics, material management and consumer goods production.

These projects directly bring scientific-technical forces of our two countries together. A coordinated research and production cooperation grows in the most modern fields of manufacture. To an increasing degree, top international products are jointly developed and manufactured which figure heavily in the economies of both countries. The joint action, hence, is marked by the intensification of production.

Our economic relations with the USSR are imbued with the spirit of socialist internationalism. They can justly be termed an example of give and take which bears rich fruit for both peoples. Let me just refer to the Soviet Union's outstanding share in the GDR's raw material supply. During the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan period alone the Soviet Union delivered to the GDR roughly 36 million tons of petroleum, 12.9 billion cubic meters of natural gas, 6.3 million tons of rolled steel. In the face of what is practiced by the monopolist capital on the international raw materials market this fact cannot be assessed highly enough. It is of greatest importance for the GDR's national economy plan that in 1983 the Soviet Union will again deliver crude oil, metallurgic products, natural gas, iron ore, cellulose, cotton and other products in the size of this year's supplies.

Of course, the planning for our cooperation extends far beyond the daily requirements. Right now objects are being implemented that are serving our national economy's long-term supply. In this, the GDR's participation in the construction of natural gas pipelines on the territory of the Soviet Union holds first place. The works for the construction of more than 545 kilometers of pipelines with the required installations and housing facilities have already started. A youth project is taking shape, in which roughly 10,000 FDJ members will be working in 1983. Brigades along this track, dear friends and comrades, are brigades of a great friendship which unites the socialist German Democratic Republic forever with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. [prolonged applause]

Dear friends and comrades, esteemed audience, more than 100 years ago Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels transformed socialism from an utopia into a science and in their gigantic intellectual work they marked out that new world which, under the leadership of the liberated working class and its party, for a long time now has been taking shape in more than just one country. The community of socialist fraternal countries rallied around the Soviet Union is solving the vital questions of the peoples in their interests according to the objective principles of social development.

At the same time it become more and more evident that capitalism is not capable of such solutions. It has created an important economic and scientific potential, but in view of the fact that in its system private capital rules the production means it is not man but profit that stands in the center.

Through the current profound crisis the basic contradiction between capital and work, from which capitalism suffers, is constantly aggravated even further. Phenomena such as mass unemployment, inflation, and the use of the red pencil to cancel almost all social programs are conveying an outright frightening picture of the Western world. With mass unemployment and homelessness, the freedom often commended to us perishes.

The socialist community, however, proves that social security is being safeguarded in socialism and only in socialism, while it remains an empty word without the freedom of the working people. Only here the human rights to work, education, recreation and medical care are not a mere proclamation but an every-day social reality. The participation of the citizens in the leadership and planning of socialist democracy is a constitutional reality. All parties and organizations of the democratic block, all forces united in the GDR's National Front are working jointly for the socialist fatherland and for the wellbeing of the people.

It is of historical importance that the socialist community disposes of all required resources so as to also master the tasks of the eighties. The pace with which we advance to a large degree will depend on meeting our peoples' requirements even more through effective cooperation.

This is why the GDR sees its reponsibility in the reliable implementation of agreements concluded and at the same time in the search for solutions leading further ahead. Our community embodies a new, socialist type of international relations of sovereigns, equal states. These relations are based on common interests and objectives and the common ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

Through our cooperation in all fields we enhance, with the power of the entire community and of each individual country, the weight of socialism in the world arena as well. This is crucially important, particularly now when the struggle for averting the danger of nuclear world war, for safeguarding peace, man's greatest treasure, is flaring up with such severity.

On today's occasion we feel particularly bound to pay tribute to the world historical role of the USSR as the champion of peace, as the defender of the rights of the peoples to indepdendence and social progress. From the Leninist Decree on Peace via the first decisions of the Soviet Government 60 years ago, up to the Peace Program of the 26th CPSU Congress runs the line of its socialist policy which has never been abandoned and which has always been pursued with maximum consistency and persistence. Liberating the peoples from the scourge of war, making a happy future possible for them was, is, and remains its great objective. [applause]

Dear friends and comrades, no country of the world has done and performed as much for peace as has the USSR. Whoever wishes to prevent mankind's destruction in nuclear war and whoever is determined to do everything to achieve that mankind may live in peace, will always be grateful to the Soviet Union for that.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yuriy Andropov, has stated that the CPSU and the USSR will always be devoted to the cause of the struggle for peace and international detente. We are fully agreed that the difficulties and tensions in the world situation can be and must be overcome. The peoples simply must not and will not put up with the continuation of the arms race and with wars. Safeguarding peace is and remains the most urgent task of our era. The GDR, too, endeavors to make its constructive contribution to this end.

In doing so we combine our active peace policy with the measures which, in view of the imperialist threat, are necessary to always guarantee the defense readiness of our country on the required level within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. Anyone thinking reasonably and realistically cannot fail to realize that the course of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, especially of the United States, leads to no good.

Confrontation and arms buildup, economic welfare, fanning of hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world, and anti-Soviet agitation jeopardize peace. And the peoples justly demand the turn away from a policy which calculates the nuclear first strike, the risk of a world conflagration whose devastating effects would surpass everything that happened in wars so far. This particularly applies also with a view to the deployment of new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe which is being prepared by NATO for 1983.

This would create a changed strategic situation, and the organization of relations between the states of different social systems in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence would be undermined. The most aggressive circles of imperialism by their attempts to change the existing military balance to the disadvantage of the socialist community hazard the future of the European Continent. This continent has promising prospects only in safe peace, however. The senselessness and dangerousness of the arms race, which already has swallowed huge sums, becomes ever more obvious. It is, after all, an uncontested fact that additional armament by no means results in more security. The stationing of additional MX missiles planned by U.S. President Reagan would start a new round in the arms race. Peculiarly enough, this policy now even meets with growing resistance in the U.S. House of Representatives, as President Reagan's defeat in the voting last week has shown. Western commentators are certainly not wrong if they mention the influence this development may bring to bear on those West European allies whose countries are to be transformed into an atomic launching pad, according to NATO's Brussels decision.

Together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, the GDR advocates measures for the limitation and reduction of armaments, above all nuclear armaments, in conformity with the principle of equality and equal security. We support the Soviet Union's constructive efforts for achieving progress and positive results in the Geneva negotiations with the United States, which would be of greatest importance for securing peace. At the same time the GDR cooperates at the Madrid meeting toward achieving a substantial final document and the convocation of a European conference on confidence and security-creating measures as well as of disarmament.

With the solemnly declared reunuciation of a first nuclear strike, the USSR has given new and impressive proof of its peace policy. It has set an example that will not fail to have its effects on all those in the world who are serious about the interests of the peoples. If all states possessing nuclear weapons were to make such a pledge, then an effective prerequisite would be created for frustrating the outbreak of a nuclear inferno. The GDR will do everything in its power to achieve this aim and durable peace. Precisely (?in this) it will always be a loyal and reliable comrade in arms of the USSR. [prolonged applause]

Esteemed audience, dear friends and comrades, 60 years of the USSR and changes in the international situation that occurred since the founding of the first workers-peasants state of the world are elucidating convincingly the triumph of our cause of socialism, the cause of liberation and progress of peoples. True to proletarian internationalism the country of Lenin and our community of fraternal countries live up to their responsibility vis-a-vis mankind. They perform the great work of building socialism and communism, a social system which alone enables man to be man. In conformity with the immortal teachings of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Ilich Lenin we jointly are moulding the present and we envisage perspectives which reward for all efforts of work and all hardships of struggle. Being the standard-bearer of mankind's progress the Soviet Union takes the lead on our road. [applause]

Dear friends and comrades, long live our joint struggle for peace and socialism! Long live the fraternal alliance between the SED and the CPSU, the unshakable friendship of the GDR people with the peoples of the Soviet Union! Long live the 60th founding anniversary of the USSR. [prolonged applause]

KADAR-LED DELEGATION HONORS USSR IN MOSCOW

Delegation Departs 18 Dec

LD181014 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 18 Dec 82

[Text] Led by Janos Kadar, a Hungarian party and state delegation has left for Moscow for the festivities to be held on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union. Members of the delegation are Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council; Peter Varkonyi, Central Committee secretary; and Sandor Rajnai, our country's ambassador to Moscow, who is to join the delegation in the Soviet capital. The delegation was seen off at East Station by Gyorgy Lazar, premier; and by Gyorgy Aczel, Ference Havasi, Karoly Nemeth and Miklow Ovari, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee.

Gaspar Departs 19 Dec

LD191940 Budapest MTI in English 1701 GMT 19 Dec 82

[Text] Budapest, December 19 (MTI) -- Invited by the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, Sandor Gaspar, secretary-general of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, left for Moscow Sunday to attend the ceremonies to be held on the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Union.

REPORTAGE ON PUJA'S 15-18 DEC VISIT TO ITALY

Meets Pertini, Fanfani, Colombo

AU170935 Rome ANSA in English 0809 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] (ANSA) -- Rome, December 17 -- Bulgarian [as received] Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja, on an official visit to Italy Wednesday, met with head of state Sandro Pertini, Premier Amintore Fanfani and his Italian counterpart Emilio Colombo. It was the first time that the foreign ministers from these two countries had met since 1974, when Aldo Moro, then Italy's head of diplomacy, travelled to Budapest.

During his talks in the Italian capital, Puja touched on East, West ties, disarmament, the Middle East and the European Security and Cooperation Conference.

Colombo recalled Italy's efforts to prevent differences of political orientation from hindering exchanges between the two countries. Colombo also stressed that it is essential for Italy to defend its democratic and pluralistic system from terrorism or other "intolerable activities or initiatives."

Colombo, Puja Toasts

LD171424 Budapest MTI in English 1102 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] Rome, December 17 (MTI) -- From MTI correspondent Erno Kiraly:

Today Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja is to conclude his official visit to Rome by a visit to Pope John Paul II in Vatican. The Thursday talks with President Alessandro Pertini, Prime Minister Fanfani and Foreign Minsiter Emilio Colombo reflected the two countries' views on timely political issues and bilateral relations.

In a toast in honour of Frigyes Puja Thursday evening, Emilio Colombo stressed that despite different social systems, Italy and Hungary have an equal sense of reality and responsibility in the creation of peace based on security and mutual confidence. Colombo recalled the 1977 visit to Italy of Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, which contributed to the traditional friendship of the two peoples. In his response Frigyes Puja stressed the importance of recent talks and pointed out that a dialogue is indispensable in the present complex international situation. He stated that bilateral contacts were fairly developing, but it would be desirable to remove the obstacles in the way of commercial links. He assured his host of his government's intention to promote continuation of the Helsinki process of European security and cooperation and adoption of a constructive final document at the Madrid meeting.

Meets Pope 17 Dec

LD171428 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] The pope has received the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs in a private audience. Frigyes Puja is conducting talks in Rome at the invitation of his Italian counterpart, and yesterday he met President Pertini as well as Prime Minister Fanfani.

Visits Florence

LD181222 Budapest MTI in English 1018 GMT 18 Dec 82

[Text] Rome, December 17 (MTI) -- Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja, has concluded his official visit to Rome, where he was invited by Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo, and left for Florence Friday. In Florence he was welcomed by the prefect of the city. Minister Puja is scheduled to visit Pisa.

Returns to Budapest 18 Dec

LD181820 Budapest MTI in English 1703 GMT 18 Dec 82

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI) — After concluding his official visit to Italy, Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja returned to Budapest Saturday. "His talks were another important stage of the regular meetings of various levels between the two countries," reads a commentary in Saturday's MAGYAR HIRLAP. The talks with Emilio Colombo focused on bilateral relations, with a stress on economic-commercial ones. The heads of the Hungarian and Italian diplomacy "stated that as the further strengthening of cooperation is a common interest, there are opportunities and will in all fields, including international policy."

MAGYAR HIRLAP points out that, although Hungary and Italy are belonging to two different military and economic alliances, there are common interests. "The most fundamental common interests include the strengthening of security, the safeguarding of peace and the prime interest of the peoples...the foreign ministers stated: both countries are interested in the maintenance of East-West dialogue. Our views are close on detente, security in Europe, including the Madrid meeting. The two foreign ministers took a stand in Rome that the Madrid meeting should conclude with an appropriate, constructive final document."

In conclusion the Budapest daily states: "Both Hungary and Italy are interested in the continuation of the process of talks on security and cooperation in Europe that was started in Helsinki. Both Frigyes Puja and Emilio Colombo stressed at the talks, which were marked with a friendly and objective atmosphere, that the correct cooperation of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Republic of Italy can promote this process."

SEJM APPROVES MOTION TO SUSPEND MARTIAL LAW

Session Opens 18 December

LD180828 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 18 Dec 82

[Excerpt] The 30th session of the Sejm is beinning at this very moment. The session will refer to the debates held less than a week ago, on 13 December, when two significant bills connected with the suspension of martial law were presented at the Sejm forum.

Motion Presented by Surowiec

LD181610 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1210 GMT 18 Dec 82

[Speech by Zygmunt Surowiec, ZSL deputy, presenting the report of the Sejm Commissions for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and for Legislative Work to the Sejm session in Warsaw on 18 December -- recorded]

[Text] Citizen marshal, may it please the house: The past year was an exceptional period in the history of our people's state. The introduction, on the basis of the Council of State resolution of 12 December 1981, of martial law for the sake of the safety of the state and special legal regulations which the house endorsed through the law of 25 January 1982, was conditioned by the need to save the state and national existence. It was aimed at halting the progressing disintegration of the structures of the socialist state and the process of paralysis of the national economy, and it staved off the real danger of a civil war. In the course of this year the anarchization of social life was impeded and the direct threat to the internal safety of the country was eliminated. The sense of personal safety of citizens increased as did social discipline. The mounting wave of crime was brought to a halt. Conditions for an effective enforcement of the law and observance of principles of social coexistence were created.

The process of normalization initiated last December has proceeded not without tensions and difficulties. Forces interested in weakening the unity of the socialist community, native opponents of the socialist path of our country's development and various political adventurists did not want to reconcile themselves with their December setback in Poland. Despite warnings the disorientated section of the community, especially young people, were driven into conflicts with bodies of the authorities. It is no secret to anyone in Poland who the instigators of those disturbances were and are, who wanted to achieve political capital by those means to achieve on Polish soil settlements that would not have served Poland.

The U.S. Government was revealing itself increasingly clearly as the real source of unrest in Poland. Today, too, subversion from abroad is not subsiding. By means of economic sanctions it is made difficult for our economy to emerge from the crisis situation. There are still people also in Poland who have not abandoned hope of the disintegration of our state structures.

As time went by the social base of antistate activities decreased in size. Social order, public order and security are becoming ever increasingly factors which are universally valued, for they guarantee the process of emerging from the crisis and of Poland's continuing development. The main effort to ensure public order and security during the period of martial law was borne by the Polish People's Army and by the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The tasks entrusted to them have been implemented. This became possible because of the great amount of work, selflessness and involved attitude displayed by the soldiers and the functionaries.

Numerous people from within their ranks suffered healthwise for their selflessness, and one Sgt Zdzislaw Karos lost his life. From this lofty rostrum I wish to express appreciation for this enormous effort, for the selflessness and patriotism of the uniform-wearing citizens and for those citizens who because of their conditions of service cannot wear uniforms. Words of recognition are due to members of the volunteer reserve of the Citizens' Militia who carry out their duties socially for their selflessness and devotion, to all the citizens of our country who have been and are taking an active part in the work for the cause of public order and security.

Despite certain pessimistic remarks and reservations, martial law hastened the process of the socially expected positive changes in the country. Under the protection of martial law conditions appeared to satisfy the basic postulates of the social protest of 1980 and to reject things which, inspired by forces hostile to Poland, struck a blow against the existence of the state and its citizens. This required a tremendous amount of work, a significant proportion had to be done by citizen deputies. This year the Sejm passed 51 laws, including such important acts as those on the economic reform, trade union movement, combatting various manifestations of the so-called social pathology. The fears that unnecessary repressions would have to be used during the period of martial law were not confirmed in practice. Preventive and repressive measures were used sparingly, corresponding to the appraisals of socially perilous behavior, appraisals which made their use essential. The sentencing policy of general and military courts and the use of preventive measures by the authorized organs of the procuracy and the Ministry of Internal Affairs bear witness to this.

Several days ago a representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs informed the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice about the outcome of activities in this field. Citizen deputies are familiar with it. The extent to which repressive and preventive measures were applied is further proof of the fact that martial laws or states of emergency which we know, among others, in states that are in alliance with the United States. In this respect, too, this is a Polish martial law.

Citizen deputies, on 25 January 1982, as deputy rapporteur, I presented to the house the bill on special regulations under martial law. Today, in a changed sociopolitical situation, in view of the considerable progress in the process of normalization of social life and of the start of an improvement in the economic situation, it is with the authority of the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and of the Commission for Legislative Work that I present two bills to the citizen deputies -- on the amendment to the law of 25 January 1982 on special regulations under martial law and on special regulations with the suspension of martial law. These bills were the subject of a thorough analysis in the course of the work of the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and of the Commission for Legislative Work. The weight of the bills and the fact that they concern new legal issues that embrace problems which up to now have never been settled through legislation in Poland are responsible for the fact that they had to be approached with particularly great responsibility. The commissions came out in favor of introducing into our legislation the institution of the suspension of martial law and authorized the Council of State to introduce this upon the consolidation of social calm and public order and to withdraw the suspension if threats occur to these socially important causes. We also regard it as apt that the decision was taken by the Council of State, on the proposal of the Council of Ministers, as being responsible for the state of order in the country and having at its disposal an apparatus that carries out assessments and analyses essential in this area.

I wish to begin discussing the second of the bills by stressing the fact that it contains three kinds of regulations: first, regulations concerning the nonapplication of specific martial law stringencies after it has been suspended; second, regulations whose binding force is extended for the period of the suspension of martial law; third, regulations of a permanent nature that will begin to take force together with the suspension of martial law.

The proposed catalogue of stringencies which will not be applied, upon the suspension of the state of martial law, should be met with approval. At the same time, giving expression to the hope for further progress in the normalization of social life and of the state of law and order in the country, the commissions think it useful to give the Council of State the power to lift additional stringencies under the state of martial law.

It emerges from the content of the bill on the particular regulations during the period of suspension of the state of martial law that this is an act of particular importance. On the basis of it, the decisive majority of the binding stringencies of the state of martial law will not be applied, among them the right to carry out internment, the right to impose limitations on citizens' movements in the territory of the country, the censorship of postal packets and telecommunications correspondence, the monitoring of telephone conversations. Neither will the right to suspend the activity of associations, societies and social and professional organizations be applied. Those that have not restarted their activities up to now will be able to do so at a date fixed by the body issuing the decision on the suspension, not later, however, than in 6 months time.

The ban of strikes and protest actions will cease to be applied if they are carried out in accordance with the provisions of the laws in force.

The period of suspension of the state of martial law should bring as close as possible the time when martial law will be lifted altogether. If we once again recall the reasons that justified its introduction and assess the current political and socio-economic situation, the conclusion emerging from these reflections indicate the need to create guarantees which will make the prospect of lifting martial law realistic. This goal is served by the legal norms envisaged in the bill.

Guided by this premise one should bear in mind that the means envisaged in the bill should not create unnecessary burdens. They should correspond closely to the needs of the period which we are entering. The bill fulfills this demand.

The creation of conditions in which it will become possible to lift further stringencies and later lift martial law will depend to a decisive extent on guarantees that the law in force is fully observed, both by the state bodies whose duty it is to enforce it in the interest of the security of the state and of its citizens, and by the whole of society.

This also applies to the new regulations which, bearing in mind the present state of security and social order, and also the need to guarantee [words indistinct] the country's economy in a crisis situation, it is planned to include in the bill. These regulations are contained in section two of the bill.

In the course of the commission's work during the discussion on the limitations in the sphere of dissolving a labor contract and some powers of the self-management of the work force of a state enterprise, it was regarded as correct for those limitations to be in force in the smallest possible number of enterprises. In this regard the bill envisages that they will be in force only in those currently militarized enterprises in which it is essential in view of the needs of the defense of the state, the state economy or the population. A list of these enterprises will be drawn up after the lifting of militarization by the appropriate ministers and voivodas.

The limitations of which we are speaking concern the right to dissolve a labor contract only by virtue of an agreement of the parties, with the proviso that the decision of the party refusing to agree can be appealed with the body exercising supervision over the workplace -- Article 2, paragraph 1 of the bill -- and the suspension of the right to appoint and recall the director of an enterprise -- Article 7, paragraph 2.

The Council of Ministers, in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 3, can extend the binding force of the regulation limiting the right to dissolve a labor contract to factories producing goods covered by operational programs and thus the most important in terms of emerging from the crisis, and also to those plants that are implementing tasks set them on the basis of Article 54 of the Law on State Enterprises. These tasks, as we know, may result from the country's defense needs, from natural disasters or in order to carry out international obligations.

The commissions proposed changes in the amounts of fines envisaged in Article 4, paragraph 5, in order to retain uniformity with the regulations on misdemeanors. They also propose changes in Article 4, by the use in paragraph 1 of the words: disrupting law and order [zakloceni ladu i porzadku]. This is a more precise definition and one known in legislature.

The detailed regulations for the period of suspension of martial law contained in section 2 are aimed at ensuring efficient, well-organized work in enterprises and in other workplaces and also an improvement in work and study discipline at factories and higher education establishments.

This aim is served by the decisions which strive to ensure personnel stability, to create the possibility for extending the working time within the limits defined in the labor code and to retain temporarily some restrictions of the entitlements of enterprise self-managements, and which form the basis for dissolving the work contract or deletion from the students register of persons who participate in disturbances of public order. The improvement of discipline at work and study is also served by the creation of a new kind of responsibility for persons who occupy management posts in the state administration of units of nationalized economy, state education and scientific-research centers. For glaring violations of official duties they will be subjected to disciplinary proceedings which may (?lead) up to a decision on dismissal from their post or function.

In consideration of the state balance of payments, and to counteract speculation undertakings, it is envisaged to maintain restrictions in the area of freedom of use of hard currency means held in bank accounts.

The proposed act envisages considerable alleviation in the area of administration of justice. The competence of military courts and prosecutors offices will be significantly narrowed. The bill also proposes significant limitation of the catalogue of offenses that were hitherto subject to summary procedure. Summary procedure will be retained exclusively in cases for common offenses, listed in Article 10, and thus directed against the economic interests of the state and against the life and health of the citizens.

Citizen deputies, the commissions have devoted much attention to an assessment of regulations contained in the third chapter of the bill which introduces changes in the regulations in force. These changes apply to certain regulations of the Penal Code. Primarily this applies to the offense of so-called bribery -- that is, this concerns a certain differentiation in the responsibility of persons who take part in this offense. In accordance with Article 243 of the Penal Code, if either the person receiving or offering the bribe reports the fact of the offense and the circumstances of its perpetration to an organ appointed for prosecution before this organ has discovered the fact, the court may apply extraordinary mitigation of the penalty and may even decide not to penalize. This what the present code says. Now it is proposed to maintain this regulation in principle, only with an introduction of obligatory application of extraordinary mitigation of penalty in respect of persons listed in Article 239, paragraph 1 -- that is, those who in connection with performing a public function receive material or personal benefits, or a promise of such, and persons listed in Article 241, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Penal Code in connection with Article 239, paragraph 2. In this case it concerns persons who give, or promise to give, material or personal benefits.

Moreover, provisions have been made to take into account the possibility that the truth will be revealed [words indistinct] at the latest during the first interrogation, in cases mentioned in Article 241, paragraph 1 or 2 in connection with Article 239, paragraph 2. This affects persons who extend, or promise to do so, material or personal favors to persons who, while occupying a public service post, make the carrying out of their official duties incumbent upon the reception of favors or demand such favors.

The change put forward in Article 243, paragraph 4 of the Criminal Code pertains only to the time during which the commission of the crime has been notified, without affecting the provisions of Article 243 of the Criminal Code currently in force.

The provisions of the proposed Article 243, paragraphs 1-4 pertain, respectively, to the instigators of and accessories to the crimes defined in Article 239. As can be seen from the above, the draft changes do not touch on the legal norms prior to 1969. However, they improve the regulations currently in force, so as to create a basis for curtailing these socially painful crimes. During discussion in the Sejm commissions on the legal regulations affecting crimes of so-called bribe-taking, attention was drawn to the need to protect citizens who carry out public functions against false accusations that they have committed such crimes.

As a result of the position taken by the two commissions I represent, the Council of State will make appropriate decisions. The Supreme Court will be guided by these decisions when it issues detailed rules for the courts. The Polish People's Republic prosecutor general will, likewise, be guided by them when he issues detailed instructions to the investigative organs so as to combat these kinds of crimes in a more effective way.

The need to ensure public order, which in the current conditions is of special importance, is at the source of the proposed introduction of criminal responsibility for actions which aim at provoking public disturbances or riots.

The introduction of amendments to the criminal procedure, on the basis of which the court or the prosecutor will be able to order the monitoring of telephone conversations of people suspected of committing crimes, will serve to improve the work of investigative organs. In both acts the commissions introduced a series of editorial corrections and corrections which make them more precise. They have been acknowledged in the commissions' report.

May it please the house: Speaking to the house on 25 January, 1982, I expressed the hope that our society will not be lacking in circumspection, in order to work persistently for stabilization of our socioeconomic life, for only thus can realistic conditions be created in which martial law will become unnecessary.

Considerable progress has been made along the road (?marked out) by that hope. I repeat this thought today in the deep conviction that the bills submitted to the house, which serve as a statement of the achievement of a level of normalization in the country's social life, mark out the road to lifting martial law.

With the authority of the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and of the Commission for Legislative Work, I propose that the Sejm pass the law amending the detailed regulations in the period of martial law, Sejm publication No 264, and pass the law containing detailed regulations in the period of suspension of martial law, Sejm publication No 265, together with the amendments contained in the commissions' report, Sejm publication Nos 268 and 269. Thank you for your attention.

Sejm Leaders Support Suspension

LD181200 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 18 Dec 82

[Excerpts] After a break of a few days the next Sejm session has been in progress since 0900. The session is devoted to bills on the suspension of martial law and special legal regulations under the suspension of martial law which have been presented by the Council of State. After the first reading at the 13 December Sejm session these bills were examined in depth by Sejm commissions. Today they are back in plenary deliberations.

Deputy Ryszard Wojna delivered a speech on behalf of the PZPR Deputies' Club. He said in his speech that after a long and difficult path of overcoming the crisis we are reaching a new stage. Referring to the recent past, he recalled that the PZPR recognizes the workers' protest as justified. At the moment politics are once again taking priority in solving the country's problems. The country's future remains closely connected with the mechanisms of the state's functioning and settlements on various levels of socialist democracy and with the building of national accord.

The most important task, Ryszard Wojna said, is to consolidate and develop consistently the state. It is necessary to strive effectively for the implementation of the ninth party congress program which represents an unchanging landmark.

Expressing his appreciation for the Army and the forces of authority and order, the speaker stressed that the suspension of martial law restores full status to political and social activities. He pointed out that the coming months will not be easy since there is, both in Poland and in the West, a group of forces that do not want our situation to normalize. The deputy discussed these issues in the context of world conditions, contrasting strivings for detente and for waging another cold war. He expressed the view here that the Polish crisis constitutes an integral part of the tense international situation.

On behalf of the PZPR Deputies' Club, Deputy Ryszard Wojna said that the deputies of this club will vote for the two bills.

On behalf of the ZSL parliamentary party, Deputy Jerzy Szymanek stated that the discussion about the suspension of martial law prompted a broad political debate. The most important thing today is this, he said, to come to agreement on the fundamental issues crucial for the future of our country. It is exceptionally important, therefore, to look for levels of agreement and to avoid causing new divisions in society. The proposal by the Council of State concerning the suspension of the state of martial law, with the retention of certain stringencies essential for the correct functioning of the economy and the state, are convincing the farmers, the deputy stressed. They realize that disruptions in production and in the whole economy would cause further difficulties, including in the market of industrial means for agricultural production.

Referring to the declaration by the ZSL parliamentary party, Jerzy Szymanek confirmed its support for the statutory solutions concerning the suspension of martial law and the individual legal regulations in this sphere.

Deputy Henryk Stawski of the SD said, as he recalled the historical development of our country, since the time of the partitions and after World War II that many states promised to help us but never kept their promises. The present national existence is safeguarded by the Warsaw Pact. Taking advantage of the mistakes of the seventies, the enemy is trying to provoke destabilization in our country. The year 1981 was a time of ruthless struggle to overturn the people's authority.

The declaration of martial law barred the road to counterrevolution, the deputy said. The Military Council of National Salvation safeguarded the nation's existence. The possibility of suspending martial law has been thoroughly analyzed, which guarantees that taking this decision is no longer a risk. The SD parliamentary party, Henryk Stawski said, will vote for the adoption of the legal regulations concerning the suspension of martial law.

The discussion continues.

Sejm Passes Laws

LD181526 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 18 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Less than 30 minutes ago the Sejm session came to an end.

The Sejm voted to approve an amendment to the law on special regulations with the suspension of martial law together with the corrections proposed by the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and by the Commission for Legislative Work.

After passing the two laws the Sejm ended its deliberations. The vice marshal of the Sejm, Zbigniew Gertych, announced that the next session of our parliament will take place on 28 December and will be devoted to the budget debate.

SUROWIEC SPECIFIES RESTRICTIONS STILL IN FORCE

LD181932 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Good evening. After a session lasting several hours the Sejm today passed two acts of enormous significance. The first introduces into our legislation the institution of suspension of martial law, and the second deals with particular legal regulations in the period of suspension of martial law.

The adoption by the Sejm of these legal acts signifies an entry into the next stage of stabilization and normalization of life in the country; it is an intermediate stage between the martial law and its end. The law in force in the period of suspension, by lifting or restricting to the necessary minimum the controls in force until now, will ensure gradual achievement of full normalization, at the same time permitting the authorities to effectively oppose potential threats to public law and order.

Let us listen to a short interview with the reporting deputy, Zygmunt Surowiec:

[Begin recording] [Question] I think the matter that most interests listeners [words indistinct], is which of the decisions of martial law decrees have been retained.

[Answer] Out of 35 restrictions, about 30 have been lifted by the act you mentioned. About five remain in force. Which are they? First, there are restrictions prohibiting possession of radio transmitting and transmitting receiving equipment. This restriction is defined in a sort of [word indistinct] way -- that is, in the sense that if this is required by the interests of security and defense of the state, the appropriate authorities order this equipment to be turned in. This is one of the restrictions. The second, which is similar, concerns possession of weapons and ammunition as well as explosives, and it is regulated in a similar way. The third restriction concerns the control of publications and performances. That is, it simply concerns obtaining permission for publication from the appropriate offices -- also, of course, in keeping with state security.

The next matter is the summary procedure. The summary procedure has been retained, but the list of offenses to be dealt with under this procedure has, of course, been significantly reduced to only common offenses. Finally, the jurisdiction of military courts for certain offenses has been retained.

These could be recognized -- these restrictions being maintained -- as necessary in view of the fact, as is known, that it is necessary to create conditions for full lifting of martial law in the future. In connection with this there must be certain legal instruments to ensure this. [end recording]

DETAILS OF 'SUSPENDED MARTIAL LAW' REGULATION

LD182109 Warsaw PAP in English 2017 GMT 28 Dec 82

[Text] Warsaw 18 Dec -- The Polish Sejm passed laws on a change in the legal regulations for the period of martial law and on the legal regulations for the period of suspension of martial law at its meeting here today. Here are the main provisions of both acts:

The institution of martial law suspension is being introduced into Polish legislation. The Council of State is authorized to proclaim suspension of martial law in step with the consolidation of public order and withdraw the decision to suspend martial law in case threats occur. The Council of State decision is taken upon a motion from the Council of Ministers, which is responsible for order in the country.

Under suspended martial law, the majority of martial law restrictions will not be effective, including the right to impose internment, restrictions on citizens' travel within the country, and censorship on mail and telecommunication.

Also, the right to suspend associations and social and trade union organizations will not be applied. Those organizations which have not yet resumed their activity after they were suspended under martial law have the right to do so in up to (?six months).

The ban of strikes and protest actions, likewise, will cease to be binding provided that the actions are carried out in tune with the laws in force.

Restrictions on dissolving employment contracts between the enterprise and its employees and on the powers of the crew's self-management will be binding for only a (?small) number of plants, namely militarized factories, whose functioning is related to the country's defence requirements.

The law on regulations under suspended martial law provides for a possibility to extend working time, temporarily uphold some restrictions on the powers of employee-self management in enterprises, and to strike a person off the payroll or a students list in case he takes part in disturbances of public order.

The law also provides for sanctions to be imposed on people holding managerial posts in state administration, socialized economy units, state-run education centres or research institutions who glaringly trespass on their business duties.

Restrictions on the freedom to use foreign currency funds on bank accounts will be upheld under the new law.

The law also provides for considerably reducing the scope of matters liable to investigation by military prosecutor's [words indistinct] trial at military courts. Also, the list of offences to be (?considered) under summary procedure will be markedly reduced.

The law moreover provides for measures to protect people holding public posts against false accusations.

ZAWADZKI COMMENTS ON MARTIAL LAW SUSPENSION

LD171816 Warsaw PAP in English 1406 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] Warsaw 17 Dec -- Asked by a reporter of the weekly POLITYKA whether it was possible to suspend martial law earlier, Justice Minister Professor Sylwester Zawadzki pointed to tendencies in Solidarnosc and the West's policy towards Poland as important causes which prevented such a step.

In the interview, the minister pointed out that "all bolder steps (taken by the authorities towards removing various martial law rigours -- ed.) were interpreted (by Solidarnosc underground -- ed.) as the government's weakness and gave rise to the disastrous theory of "forcing the process of emerging from martial law". [as received]

"If not precisely for this theory and its results that were deplorable in practice, we would have been much nearer the full elimination of martial law. The events of last May and August frustrated the government's plans to lift all martial law rigours by the end of this year.

"Only November 10 has been a clear turning point in this areas. It turned out then that society and especially the working class are fed up with trouble and perceive that the road recommended by the Solidarnosc underground leads nowhere. The stand taken by the Polish primate after his return from Rome and the results of the Glemp-Jaruzelski meeting did a lot to calm down emotions. Thus, elementary conditions were created for giving up many limitations that so far protected the country from civil war and economic destruction".

Proposals are now being advanced to abandon some but not all martial law rigours because "there are still a number of Solidarnosc underground links and they can try to draw some young people into fresh disturbances. Let us add to it the West's propaganda subversion clearly aimed to keep up the confusion and it will turn out that there is a certain and quite serious risk of trouble. Of course, I would prefer a situation in which the complete lifting of martial law would be possible right now, at once. But the dangers mentioned above call for caution".

In discussing bocpative [as received] proposals on martial law presented to the Sejm, Minister Zawadzki said that internment is to be discontinued and the internees freed. However, a relatively small group of them must be prepared that they may be put under arrest and put on trial as they are [word indistinct] committing an offence against the staff. Summary procedure will be considerably limited and the powers of military courts towards civilian persons will also be seriously restricted.

An amnesty is possible, but at latter date, when further progress in normalization is made. Initially there will be possibilities of applying the right of clemency in individual cases. The legislation on underground organizations, illegal publications and rallies will remain in force. Many factories will be demilitarized but employees will have to obtain the employers' consent if they want to quit. As of January 1, 1983, it will be possible to exercise the right to strike under the principles laid down in the trade union law. The minister said that the government plans to reactivate all workers' self-management bodies in 3 months and associations in 6 months.

COUNCIL OF STATE ISSUES SUSPENSION RESOLUTION

LD191830 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Dec 82

[Council of State resolution on the suspension of martial law, issued on 19 December]

[Text] On the basis of Article 1A, paragraphs 1 and 3 of the law of 25 January 1982, concerning special regulations during the period of martial law. Government gazettes No 3, position 18, and No 41, position 272, the Council of State on the proposal of the Council of Ministers, has adopted the following:

Paragraph 1: Martial law is suspended as from 31 December 1982 for the whole territory of the Polish People's Republic. Martial law was introduced because of the security of the state by a resolution of the Council of State dated 12 December 1981, government gazette No 29, position 155.

Paragraph 2: The resolution comes into force on the day of its adoption.

[Signed] Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State

PRON HOLDS SESSION 17 DECEMBER IN WARSAW

Jaruzelski Attends

LD172013 Warsaw PAP in English 1420 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] Warsaw 17 Dec -- The Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), with the participation of Wojciech Jaruzelski, convened in Warsaw today at its first meeting. A group of over 300 representatives of society are taking part in the debates chaired by Poland's well-known writer Jan Dobraczynski. They include delegates of the PRON voivodship and basic links, a numerous group of activists of the Civic Committees for National Rebirth (OKON), the National Unity Front (FJN), people representing mass media, professional and social milieux, elected as members of the PRON Provisional National Council.

This is a successive stage of the organizational development of this movement which, by emerging and forming itself in a spontaneous and grass-root manner, rallied thousands of people wishing to get Poland out of the crisis around the idea of national rebirth and agreement over the past year.

Members of the supreme authorities of the PUWP, the United Peasant and Democratic parties and such Christian associations as Pax, the Christian Social Association and the Polish Union of Social Catholics -- signatories to the July PRON declaration -- are taking part in the debates. Edward Kowalczyk, Jerzy Grzybczak, Zenon Komender, Kazimierz Morawski and Janusz Zablocki were present. President of the Council of State and Chairman of the FJN National Committee Henryk Jablonski and Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa are also taking part.

PRON Issues Statement

LD172044 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Statement issued by Provisional National Council of Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth at conclusion of 17 December meeting in Warsaw]

[Text] In reply to the Sejm statement of 3 May 1982, the PZPR, the ZSL, the SD, the Pax Association, the Christian Social Association, and the Polish Catholic-Social

Union have issued a declaration calling for integration, in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, of all those active social and political sectors that undertook the cause of leading the country out of the crisis, the cause of repair of the republic, of consolidating in the social consciousness and conduct the ideals of social justice, socialist democracy, observance of law and human dignity.

The PRON, open to all Poles who stand on the basis of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, becomes a new, democratic forum for civic dialogue.

In accordance with the principles defined by the commission initiating the creation of the Provisional National Council, its members become representatives of voivodships and basic links of the movement, a numerous group of activists of the OKON, activists of the FJN, and representatives of various vocational and social milieux.

The Provisional National Council of PRON adopts, as the platform of its activity, the 20 July 1982 declaration on the issue of the PRON. This declaration defines the basic aims of the movement. Guided by these recommendations, the Provisional National Council sets itself the following main tasks:

We want to build accord among Poles on the principal issues facing the nation and the state, to destroy the barriers of social mistrust. We are ready to undertake dialogue in this matter with all for whom Poland is a superior value.

We want to work for internal calm, development of creative work and culture, a just division of produced commodities. We want to work for moral rebirth of the nation and protection of the family. We speak for a consistent implementation of social accord, of reforms and of socialist renewal. We address all Polish men and women to jointly create the conditions for completely ending martial law in a realistically near future.

We will not spare efforts to restore Poland to its deserved place in the world. We live in the days of arms race and threat to the human right to live in peace. Sovereignty of nations is breached; military, political and economic blackmail is used. Attempts are also made to impose on us the method in which we are to arrange our own home. We resolutely reject all attempts to interfere in our internal affairs. We are convinced that this stand is shared by every Pole aware of our own national dignity. Our national aspirations are supported by all the countries of socialist commonwhealth, by Poland's many friends throughout the world.

We will undertake activities that serve to consolidate and broaden our movement. We express conviction that there will be no shortage of people of social merit, activists of the FJN and of the OKON's.

We will undertake activities that serve to consolidate and broaden our movement. [sentence as heard] We will provide support, aid and advice to all the links in their none too easy pioneer activity. The National Council will attempt to coordinate their work, to express forms and principles of solution of problems, to put forward proposals. We will disseminate all initiatives for constructive activity of the PRON links, implementing the declaration of 20 July.

The Provisional National Council, together with all the PRON links, will prepare a congress of the movement representatives, which should take place in the spring of 1983. The Provisional National Council of PRON asks all activists of the movement to participate actively in preparations for the congress so that it will meet social expectations. At the moment of the opening of the congress, the Provisional National Council will submit its mandate to it. The PRON congress will become an important event in the life of our country. In accordance with social expectations, it will draft the aims and principles of the movement's activity and define its place in the Polish political system.

The PRON Provisional National Council asks all Polish men and women to build jointly the power of our country. The PRON is a proposal of such activity.

PAP Reports Proceedings

LD182056 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 18 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Warsaw 17 Dec -- The Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, PRON, had its first meeting at the Polish Sejm building here today. Taking part in the meeting were over 300 representatives of Polish society, including delegates of voivodship and basic PRON links, activists of citizens' committees for national defence OKON [as received], delegates of the National Unity Front FJN, and representatives of opinion-forming, professional, and social milieus who sit on the provisional council. The meeting was chaired by writer Jan Dobraczynski. The meeting was a successive phase in the organizational development of the PRON movement, which over the last year has attracted thousands of people of good will to promote the idea of rebirth and national accord.

The meeting was attended by members of the supreme authorities of the PUWP, United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party, and Pax Association, the Christian Social Association CHSS, and the Polish Christian-Social Union PZKS, the signatories of the July 29, 1982, declaration on the PRON. There were Wojciech Jaruzelski, Edward Kowalczyk, [name indistinct], Zenon Komender, Kazimierz Morawski, and Janusz Zablocki.

Present at the meeting were also: President of the Council of State, Chairman of the All-Poland Committee of the National Unity Front or FJN Henryk Jablonski and Sejm Speaker Stanislaw Gucwa.

Opening a meeting of the Provisional National PRON Council, chairman of the commission initiating the setting up of the council Jan Dobraczynski characterized the commission's to-date activity.

Next the floor was taken by Professor Marian Orzechowski, PUWP CC secretary, who delivered a report on PRON's current tasks in the socio-political life and the tasks of the PRON Provisional National Council.

Professor Janusz Reykowski presented information on directions of work on programme and organizational assumptions of PRON. He said:

"Conditions to set up the movement were created in connection with the fact that the ruling forces in Poland declared their will to achieve national accord, and this accord presupposes introducing appropriate changes in the system of exercising authority. Those intentions are included in the declaration of July 20.

"Various forms of civic initiatives aimed at the country's salvation and rebirth have been being introduced in Poland for a number of months now.

"The movement is to be neither a new transmission of the authority to the society nor a new political force, competitive to the existing ones. In spite of the fact that it is being established on the authorities' initiative, it is not to be their instrument, for it reflects the recognition of the historical necessity which is to democratically reform the political system in Poland," the professor stated.

Professor Reykowski went on to say:

"The very nature of the movement consists in introducing into the political system the principle of agreement as a mode for arriving at solutions to political problems on a smaller and greater scale.

"The movement is to be a form of citizens' active joint participation in the social and political life. It is to aim at making the authorities' actions agree with citizens' interests and ambitions, as well as to promote collective activity to accomplish those goals which are most important for the society.

"The fundamental ideological assumption of the movement is the recognition of the socialist character of the state and socialist principles of social life. The most important objectives of the movement at present are to contribute to overcoming the economic crisis and solving the social conflict.

"The movement should act as an organized public opinion.

"The fundamental principles of the movement are: the recognition of differentiation within the society, pluralism in world outlooks and respect for individual identity of organizations of which it is composed," the professor concluded.

Problems indicated in both speeches were the starting point for a discussion on ways to develop the social and civic nature of the PRON. Statements were made by representatives of various professions and milieus. Most participants in the discussion said that basically the PRON cannot be anything to take over the functions of the government, state authorities, parties, or local administration links.

The meeting sought an answer to the question on how to get across to that part of society which is apathetic and shows no initiative.

The council unanimously recognized the programmatic guidelines presented to the meeting as a basis to be further verified in practice. While defining socialist renewal as our main goal we should cover with our actions all matters ranging from those most vital in political terms to practical though local ones, the assembly said.

Jan Dobraczynski was elected chairman of the Provisional National PRON Council. Dobraczynski had taken part in the 1939 September defence campaign, was officer of the Home Army during the war, and after the war was Catholic and social activist and Sejm deputy. He is the author of many books known both in and outside Poland.

The following were elected vice-chairmen: member of the DP Presidium, Secretary of the DP Central Committee Alfred Beszterda; member of the Political Bureau, PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek; member of the PZKS board and of the Tribunal of State, lawyer Andrzej Elbanowski; member of the UPP Presidium, Secretary of the UPP Central Committee Jerzy Grzybczak; woman farmer Anatola Kleina; worker Augustyn Kogut; Polish Academy of Sciences Vice-President Professor Jan Kostrzewski; Pax Vice-Chairman Wincenty Lewandowski; Sejm Deputy Speaker Professor Jerzy Ozdowski; and CHSS vice-chairman, Sejm Deputy Zdzislaw Pilecki.

PUWP CC Secretary Professor Marian Orzechowski was elected general secretary.

Those elected to the PRON Provisional National Council Presidium included Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PUWP CC first secretary, chairman of the Martial Council of National Redemption,

Adolf Ciborowski, world famous architect,

Barbara Enholc-Narzynska, member of the ecumenical council's presidium,

Kattarzyna Gaertner, composer,

Professor Zbigniew Gertych, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Sejm vice-marshal,

Zenon Komender, chairman of the Pax Association,

Professor Jan Kostrzewski, vice-president of the Polish Academy of Sciences,

Professor Edward Kowalczyk, Democratic Party Central Committee chairman, deputy prime minister,

Roman Malinowski, United Peasants Party Central Committee chairman, deputy prime minister,

Kazimierz Morawski, Christian Social Association chairman, member of the Council of State,

Janusz Zablocki, Polish Catholic Social Union chairman.

Closing the debates, the participants adopted a statement of the PRON Provisional National Council.

TRYBUNA LUDU REPORTS PZPR POLITBURO COMMUNIQUE

LD181620 Warsaw PAP in English 1520 GMT 18 Dec 82

["Resolution of PUWP CC Politburo Bureau" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw 18 Dec -- the Political Bureau of the PUWP CC carefully analysed the current situation within the party, says a communique published on the front page of TRYBUNA LUDU today.

This assessment shows that this year the party, despite a decline in its membership, has displayed a gradually growing activeness and consolidated its ideological-political and organizational unity.

The majority of the basic party organizations have been regaining their ability to act efficiently, reconstruct their ties with the working people and above all the working class.

Party committees and organizations, while isolating ever more effectively the opponents of socialism, undertake efforts to consolidate peace, improve the functioning of economy and assist the most needy.

The present socio-economic situation and the ensuing prospects of suspending martial law in the near future brought closer by that situation [as received], but at the same time the continued threats on the part of the enemy and the need to carry out an intensified struggle against social evil, the manifestations of social injustice, call for the further consolidation of the cohesion and discipline of the party ranks. According to the resolution of the 7th plenary meeting of the PUWP CC this constitutes the condition of increased effectiveness of actions and thus calls for concentrating efforts of party members in their own organizations.

At the same time party members should animate their activities, within the framework outlined by the party and in line with the recommendations of its committees, in mass socio-political organizations and especially among working class, creative intellegentisa and youth, among non-party people.

In this context the Political Bureau deems unpurposeful the further existence of those organizations, associations and clubs whose activities under the present circumstances lead to a dissipation of the party's strength and is not conducive to the consolidation of the party's ideological and organizational unity required by the statute.

The Political Bureau has instructed Central Committee departments to carry out a comprehensive analysis of journals whose activity arouses reservations from the point of view of implementation of the resolutions of the 9th PUWP Congress and of plenary meetings of the Central Committee, and to reorientate these journals in such a way as to make them serve as good as possible the consolidation of unity, activeness and effectiveness of party actions, as well as the creation of a climate conducive to the consolidation of all social forces standing on the ground of the socialist renewal and wishing for the strengthening of the socialist Polish state.

The respective departments have also been instructed to make an evaluation of the operation of institutions doing theoretical, scientific and educational work for the PUWP and to take indispensable steps aimed at increasing these institutions' participation in the ideological struggle and particularly in a creative, class-orientated shaping of the Marxist and Leninist interpretation of the transformations taking place in the PUWP and in Poland.

All party committees and organizations should secure a consistent implementation of these decisions, the communique said.

APOLOGY MADE FOR INTERFERENCE IN BBC BROADCASTS

LD172050 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1926 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] Polish authorities have apologised for causing interference to BBC broadcasts to Poland while Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was being detained by military police on Thursday, the BBC said tonight.

The Poles said "generator malfunction" led to Warsaw's cultural radio channel being overlaid on top of BBC medium wave transmissions.

The action effectively made inaudible broadcasts by BBC Polish and the BBC World Service in English.

A BBC spokesman said the Polish authorities claimed to have taken all necessary steps to "rectify the situation" and the interference had ceased early today.

But jamming of BBC broadcasts in Polish on short wave is continuing -- from within the Soviet Union, he added.

JARUZELSKI, DELEGATION LEAVE FOR MOSCOW

LD201134 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 20 Dec 82

[Text] Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, premier and chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation, leading a party of state delegation of the Polish People's Republic, set off today for Moscow to participate in the cermonies to mark the 60th anniversary of the USSR.

Other members of the delegation are: Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State; Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee; Deputy Premier Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the SD Central Committee; Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; and Deputy Premier Zenon Komender, chairman of the board of the Pax Association.

The delegation was seen off by members of supreme political and state authorities.

BARCIKOWSKI, KOMENDER ADDRESS SEJM 13 DECEMBER

Barcikowski Speech

AU161720 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU 14 Dec 82 p 4

[Speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the PZPR Politburo and chairman of the Sejm PZPR Deputies' Club, at the 13 December session of the Sejm in Warsaw]

[Text] Citizen speaker, citizen deputies: The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic needs decisions on profound changes in the laws on martial law, on the suspension of this law very much. I am deeply convinced that we shall adopt this resolution with the seriousness and caution that is suitable for our constitutional responsibility to the working population of towns and villages, for the security of the state and for the calm and welfare of the citizens.

The need to be cautious, something which is always necessary, is even more powerful now while we have the great threats which were facing the Polish nation and state fresh in our memories. We remember the dramatic situations preceding the imposition of martial law and the supreme measure of the responsibility of that decision. If we assess today that possibilities for suspending martial law exist, then at the same time we confirm the maturity of the decision to impose it and the successful results of comprehensive and well-devised activities for normalizing life in Poland when it was in force.

None of us has any doubts that the internal situation of the country in December 1982 is better, wiser one could say, than in December 1981 when the general insecurity regarding the future, the concern for the fate of families and the nation was increased by successive waves of strikes and disturbances, calls to destroy structures of the political system and to paralyze the economy and calls for confrontation with the forces of the state. Many difficulties still lie ahead of us. The internal and external enemies of socialism are still stirring things up. The fundamental part of the public, however, is thinking today in terms of realistic and businesslike activities in order to overcome their own problems and the problems of the country.

Under the conditions of martial law, successive hostile attempts at putting the public against authorities did not attain either the range or the objectives expected by our enemies. On the contrary, through overt adventurism and disregard for the interests of the citizens and the community, they led to weakening the influence of the underground. The attitude of the community toward the law on trade unions approved by the Sejm and toward the calls of the underground for strikes on 10 November is a clear confirmation of this.

Looking at the facts we can say that the conditions for suspending martial law have been created by those who worked and acted for calm. Enemies of various kinds and political schemers, who called for acts against the authorities under the slogans of a fight against martial law, acted against the suspension of martial law. The introduction of martial law in December 1981 was a salutory shock that made all citizens aware of the seriousness of the situation and induced those more sensible or those carried by the wave of exasperation to ponder on what the activity of hostile forces leads to. It made good sense, but has not given the conference that is so necessary in social life.

A danger which had to be taken into consideration at the time was the exacerbation of hostility, the establishment of profound divisions in the community and the flaring up of a protracted struggle leading to an escalation of violence. This is, after all, what the opponents of socialism were counting on, what they were striving for when they called for strikes and street occurrences, which provoked acute repressions and increased the victims. In their publications and leaflets they did not hide these

intentions. Human victims were to be their trump card in a struggle against the authorities together with the difficulties which economic sanctions caused the Polish economy.

It is to the credit of the authorities that firmly opposing the instigators and the anarchization of life, they were able to remain moderate and patient toward those who had lost their way, in spite of the fact that some of them erroneously interpreted it as a proof of weakness. The point was and still is that no one who wants to work and act for socialist Poland should have their way blocked, that there should be no obstacles greater than those created by life itself and the difficult situation in the country. We have the right to expect that this truth will reach everyone who is still sulking today or making childish faces out of keeping with either their age or their personal duties toward the country.

There will be no Poland other than a socialist Poland. Socialist Poland will be what Poles make it by their work and effort. It is to the credit of the martial law authorities that they did not simply confine themselves to fighting the opponents of socialism; they also consistently implemented the program of socioeconomic and political reforms in the state. The most important element of these reforms is to ensure that working people have an influence on the way in which general matters are resolved, matters of fundamental significance in the life of citizens and the state. Comrade Jablonski outlined in his speech the legislative work done in this field. One could also mention the process of introducing changes in the way power is exercised, work to improve state administration, the campaign against social evils. All this is nothing other than creation of legal foundations in the socialist Poland of the 'eighties, an introduction of solutions which tally with the citizens' expectations, solutions that correspond to the nature of our system.

We pose these matters openly. Here, there is no room for understatements of any kind, nor is there room for any misunderstandings. We aim at this: that socialist power should rest upon and emerge from a broad base of citizens' participation, conscious of their rights and duties. However, let no one count on this -- that changes in socialism will make it possible to embark on activities that do not accord with the system or constitutional principles of the state.

He who thinks that such activities will be possible is in for frustration now or in the future. And he who encourages other people to hope that such activities will be possible is responsible for these people's frustration and lack of preparedness to live in a socialist society. Teachers and educators of the young generation bear a special responsibility in this regard.

Hundreds of thousands and millions of PZPR, ZSL and SD activists and members, as well as nonparty people, have participated in the historic task of normalizing and rehabilitating the country under martial law. The soldiers of officers of the Polish Armed Forces who directly participated in improving the performance of the power apparatus and in shielding citizens' interests have played a great role. The functionaries of the forces responsible for the rule of law and for citizens' security have successfully fulfilled their duties. All of them have made their contribution to making it possible to suspend martial law and to bring closer the day of such suspension.

However, this would have been impossible if the large segments of the working people and the majority of workers, farmers and intellectuals had not understood the overriding nature of the interests of the people and the state. It was not easy for them to understand this overriding nature in view of the power apparatus' past errors, the great difficulties of daily living and the ruthless activities of the opponents exploiting errors and difficulties. Time was needed to reflect on the situation and to acquire prudence, and this time was provided by martial law. Evidence was needed to prove the intentions of the power apparatus, and the Sejm provided this evidence through its indefatigable work.

The changes that have occurred in the country under martial law are reason enough for suspending this law. This jibes with the general principle we have observed under martial law that its rules may be curbed as the sociopolitical situation in the country improves as a result of normalization. We think that it would be premature to abolish martial law when the hostile underground, although seriously weakened, is still active with the support of the external forces and when social tensions stimulated by our adversaries are continuing and new dates for hostile political actions are being announced. We cannot afford risking the country's security, which has been restored with such great efforts, by making imprudent decisions. The evaluation of the situation and the most painful experience of the most recent past make it necessary to abolish martial law gradually, step by step.

The suspension of martial law does not mean that we intend to go back one day to the rules of this law that were in force in its early days. The suspension of martial law makes it possible for us to be flexible in our actions -- that is, to take severe action if the adversary continues the struggle and creates new threats, or to abolish martial law if sociopolitical stabilization consolidates. This is why we are stressing that the future abolition of martial law will be a joint achievement of citizens and the power apparatus. That is why the PZPR Club of Sejm Deputies is for suspending martial law.

We think it is right and essential to introduce specific legal regulations for the period during which martial law is suspended. The suspension sets aside such rigors as the possibility fo internment or the possibility of militarizing plants and certain services. The extraordinary limits affecting the holding of assemblies will not be applied; the scope of activities of military courts as far as summary procedure cases and other cases are concerned will be curtailed. Workers' self-government and suspended organizations will resume work within a period of time provided for by law. Regulations that provide for specific requirements of those employed in state and economic administration will be suspended.

The State Council will avail itself of the right of clemency for those who were sentenced on the basis of martial law regulations. These are far-reaching changes and it is not possible today to foresee all their results. We expect that they will be good, but one also has to take into account the possibility that they will be negative. That is why the draft law on specific legal regulations for the period of suspension of martial law contains regulations that make for greater discipline in employment and studies and enhances official requirements as far as heads of enterprises, institutions and organizations are concerned. These regulations satisfy the expectations of public opinion that expect that economic efficiency will be higher and that institutions will function better.

The draft bill contains proposals for the regulation and for the activities at workers' self-government and envisages relevant measures in case of illegal activities by self-government bodies. It regulates the mode of desuspension of social organizations.

The draft bill provides also supplementary regulations in the penal code and in the code on penal proceeding. The intention of these changes is to step up the effectiveness of struggle against hostile political activities and the plague of bribery. As regards the latter, regulations are suggested that reduce the penalty, releasing from responsibility those who voluntarily report the fact of offering a bribe. In fact, the suggested supplements to the penal code are also of a temporary nature, just like the rest of the bill. Experiences accumulated in their application will be assessed and verified in the already-started work on codifying/penal law. The draft bill contains regulations that confirm the legal effects of actions and decisions adopted on the basis of martial law regulations. The draft bill under discussion should be seen as a regulation that meets the requirements of the transitory period that will exist after the suspension of martial law.

If the social order consolidates, if no new threats to state security and to the citizens peace emerges, then the possibility will arise for ending martial law. Our group supports the draft bill.

Citizen deputies, it is an old truth that the international position of any state is determined by the nature of its system and by internal conditions -- what one could term the degree of internal consolidation. No country that is internally torn, destabilized by inimical, anarchist activities hostile to it, as was the case not so long ago regarding Poland, can enjoy international confidence.

Our entire history confirms this truth in a textbook manner. During the period of our acute internal crisis we have been reduced to the status of the sick man of Europe, and the weak link in the socialist community. Confidence in Poland as a political and economic partner in international relations has declined to a very low level indeed.

The changes that have taken place in our country since the introduction of martial law have gradually restored the socialist countries' confidence in Poland. The support of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries for our efforts on the international arena as well as the economic aid from these countries to Poland are eloquent testimony of this. Without cooperation with the socialist countries a complete collapse of our economy would be inevitable.

A lesson emerges from this experience, which no one should forget either today or in the future. The attitude of the capitalist countries, and in particular the U.S. Administration to the Polish crisis was like a well prepared political scenario.

They were lavish with credits for Poland in the seventies, gradually transforming them into a noose of dependence. With the opportunity that arose with the internal crisis, the financial noose was tightened. They began to dictate conditions. There began the totally unconcealed interference in the internal affairs of our country. With cold and calculated cynicism they began to play the Polish card against Poland itself, against the socialist camp. Martial law frustrated these plans, cancelled the hopes for confrontation in Poland. It became obvious that Poles do not want to shed blood or perish in accordance with an anticommunist scenario. Hopes were dashed that there would be massive antistate demonstrations and that the struggle against martial law would quickly grow. How difficult it is for some people to come to terms with the suspension of martial law in Poland!

President Reagan would not wait for the Sejm's session, but a few days earlier condemned the decisions that were still not made by the Polish state's highest constitutional authority. He appealed for prayers because he probably thought that it is prayers that Poles are most short of. What Reagan needs in Poland on 13 December is not a Sejm session and not prayers, but new street disturbances. What he needs is not the strengthening, but the weakening of the Polish state.

You can understand why Reagan is nervous if you know that he has long-term plans for undermining world peace. Compared with the extent of the American plans, the Polish card is not the first priority card. However, one is therefore even more astonished that some governments in Western Europe have committed themselves to anti-Polish maneuvers and pressures. Poles will certainly derive much profit from these lessons. They will learn that they cannot count on partnerlike relations, but what profit do our teachers hope to make?

We could actually ignore these matters but for the fact that they supply us with conclusions of basic significance. One such conclusion is that we must develop and strengthen our cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. Another conclusion is that we must step up our efforts in searching for better methods of exploiting our domestic raw and other materials and must replace imports from capitalist countries with our own production whenever possible. Still another conclusion is that it is we who must and will resolve our own domestic issues by

ourselves, in our own way and so effectively that we are reckoned with as a stabilized country and as an esteemed member of the international community. I think that this truth will be accepted and respected by our people, except for those few ones who put their service as hirelings of anticommunists above the interests of our country and citizens.

The suspension of martial law is an expression of recognition of the fact that the situation has stabilized, and of our aspiration to accelerate normalization. We are opening up a new stage of work on overcoming the crisis and on leading the country out onto the safe road of development. We will implement with redoubled energy the great political initiative that serves the idea of accord, the expansion of the national rebirth movement, the self-management activity of working people, the regeneration of the trade unions. A broader field is emerging than ever before for civic activity in the service of people and socialist Poland. Within this very field, the field of constructive work, the preconditions for the conclusion of martial law will be created.

Komender Address

AU161354 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 82 p 6

[Speech by Vice Premier Zenon Komender at the 13 December Warsaw session of the Sejm: "The Overriding Aim of the People's State Is To Ensure the Right Living Conditions for Society"]

[Excerpts] The social issues were and are the fundamental issues of the alternative assumptions of the 1983-85 national economic plan and of the 1983 budget and plan, because the overriding aim of the people's state is to ensure the right living conditions for our society. This aim depends on all economic measures, including the implementation of the economic reform, the adaptation of the structure of production and imports to the most urgent needs of our community, the intensification of economic management efficiency, the rationalization of employment and reductions in the capacity of production to consume power and materials.

Before I discuss the government's immediate plans for promoting social policy, let me recall the socioeconomic conditions under which this policy will have to be implemented.

The state's economic situation is issue number one. The 1983 plan provides for increasing the national income by 2-2.5 percent, industrial production by 4 percent, and farm production by about 2 percent. This is the first time in 3 years that we expect such increases, but we should bear in mind that they are only the first indications of our efforts to make good our painful losses and to restore economic balance. The state of our economy is still critical as illustrated by the state budget, which will show a deficit of about Z240 billion in 1982 and over Z175 billion in 1983, despite our efforts to maximally increase revenues and to rationalize expenditures.

Every additional increase in these expenditures would make it necessary to increase the circulation of money, for which there would be virtually nothing to buy. Government representatives spoke at length about this problem at the recent session of the Sejm. We must be fully aware of this dangers.

Issue number two concerns the trends that have asserted themselves in social policy in the past few years. These trends have produced disadvantageous structural changes in employment, which is illustrated by a crucial deterioration in the relationship between those who produce -- who produce national income -- and those who do not produce anything. In 1981-82 the number of people employed by the socialized economy has been reduced by over 400,000. At the same time the number of retired people has increased by about 700,000, not including retired farmers.

Similar trends are occurring in individual farming.

At present 640,000 mothers benefit from the allowances for small children introduced in 1981.

This means that the disproportion between employment in production and services, on the one hand, and the volume of social benefits, which are rapidly increasing all the time, is growing. This is of decisive importance in sharing out the national income. This trend will continue to intensify.

Issue number three is public expectations that living conditions will improve. These expectations are especially pronounced in the case of those for whom social benefits are the only source of subsistence or an important item in their family budgets that cannot be supplemented in any other way.

These expectations are enormous, which is quite natural under the conditions of progressive increases in the cost of living.

Discussions during consultations with the public and during the work of Sejm commissions on the pension bill were important proof of this. We have done all we could to meet the most urgent needs as far as possible in line with our present economic potential.

Finally, issue number four is the danger posed by the abuse of the powers provided by the economic reform. In the past few months we have noted with concern that some production enterprises continue to carelessly increase prices in complete disregard of production results. The continuation of such practices is a serious threat to market balance and disrupts the agreed proportions of the national income distribution.

At the same time the fact that so many people are able to benefit from social allowances weakens initiative and natural efforts to achieve better living conditions through increasingly better and more productive work. There are many people who expect that the state will satisfy their increasing aspirations. This encourages easy living and giving up jobs even when this is not necessary.

People also frequently ask for equal incomes and benefits, regardless of whether they work and how they work. The social justice conceived in this way and this kind of equality of rights and inequality of duties are causing the increasingly more frequent opposition of those who do difficult jobs honestly. There should be above all equality of opportunities, otherwise the motivation for honest work will disappear. As we can already see, family ties and the sense of duty to help older parents or other needy members of one's family are also disappearing.

At this point I would like to stress the unusual vigor of our social policy in view of our potential and as compared with other countries. However, our people know too little about this.

The conditions I have discussed indicate that it is necessary to examine most thoroughly the problems of the population's cash incomes, living costs, and family budgets and, in this connection, to take a penetrating look at the problems of the market equilibrium in the next few years.

At this moment it is difficult to forecast in detail how our economy will develop within the next few years. This development depends on many conditions. The work on the alternatives of the 3-year plan is continuing.

However, it is already necessary to assume that, given the second -- the "moderate" -- alternative of that plan, we will be able to ensure market balance only if the increase in the population's cash incomes does not exceed the approved limits. This is one of

the basic conditions for normalizing our socioeconomic situation. It will be very difficult to ensure this condition, given the present trends.

The reform of the retirement pension system will be in force starting next year. The three bills that are necessary if this reform is to be implemented have been submitted to this Sejm session. The other ones will be submitted soon.

The fact that we are tackling such important problems is proof of the consistent implementation of the state's social policy, despite the difficult conditions of our economy.

We will achieve the basic aim of our social policy if the additional outlays are really used to protect the living conditions of the neediest. This is why the government and the Sejm commissions thoroughly analyzed all the longstanding needs and selected the most urgent and important ones from the public viewpoint.

Without prejudicing detailed solutions, at present we have to lay stress on the following lines of activity:

Wage increases in production must be related to increases in work and production effectiveness. The point is to increase the output of goods, especially the goods that are most in demand in the home and foreign markets. It is not enough to increase just the value of production.

The cash incomes of those who run independent enterprises -- I have in mind mainly individual farmers and artisans -- should also be increased through increased material production.

The wages of workers in nonsocialized sectors should be increased in line with the increases in the wages in the production sector and should be paid from increased budget revenues.

It is extremely difficult to make the best possible choices in social policy because of the many troubles and conflicts such choices may involve. The results of the decisions we now make may not show how troublesome they are until after a number of years.

Social policy that does not take into account economic reality leads inevitably to inflation, which, as I have said, harms all those who should have our special protection. Such a policy also makes for the unjustified leveling off of the wages, which thus lose their motivational functions.

On the other hand curbing social benefits on the pretext that there are no funds to finance them would be dangerous on sociopolitical grounds because it would inevitably result in the pauperization of those who have honestly worked for People's Poland all their lives, but now have to rely on such benefits for reasons of bad health or age.

Finding the optimum solutions to these problems is an extremely difficult task which we are tackling in the course of our work on the 1983 state budget and the 1983-84 national socioeconomic plan.

The consistent implementation of the decisions made as a result of these activities should help consolidate positive trends in socioeconomic processes. This is what our people need most at present, because we cannot count on our country's sociopolitical stabilization without it.

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES NATIONAL CONFERENCE 16 DEC

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[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at 16 December opening session of the RCP National Conference -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the RCP National Conference is being carefully followed by all the working people, regardless of nationality, by all our people who are confidently expecting the great forum of the communists to provide answers to the complex problems affecting our fatherland's socioeconomic development and the consistent implementation of the 12th congress decisions and of the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and the advance toward communism. [applause]

The great democratic forum of the Communists is taking place 2 weeks before the anniversary of the proclamation of the republic. The proclamation of the People's Republic of Romania on 30 December 1947 was a revolutionary event of particular importance in our people's history and opened up a new era; in point of fact, it marked Romania's transition to building a socialist society. In the 35 years that have passed since that epochal event the Romanian people have achieved noteworthy successes in building socialism, in raising their material and cultural well-being and in consolidating the fatherland's independence and sovereignty and generally strengthening the Socialist Republic of Romania. [applause]

Three years have passed since the 12th RCP congress, which established the fundamental objectives of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, Romania's transition to a new stage of development and the achievement of a new quality of work and life in all areas. During that very short historical period, new changes have occurred in international affairs. Important events have taken place, some of which have aggravated and complicated international relations. The world economic crisis has continued and has even worsened, and its scope is already exceeding the great economic crisis of 1929-1933. The old contradictions among various states and groups of states are persisting, as are the contradictions between socialism and capitalism. New contradictions have emerged at the same time. The social and political crisis of imperialism and capitalism is deepening, inexorably deepening. The gap between poor and rich countries has deepened and is still growing; due to its magnitude and nature that is the most forceful contradiction of the contemporary world.

The need for fundamental revolutionary changes in international economic and political relations is becoming ever more urgent. Equally urgent is the achievement of a new world economic and political order to replace the old order based on inequality and imperialist and colonialist oppression with a new one, based on equality, equity, mutual respect and advantage, and on the strict assertion of the principles of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and renunciation of the use and threat of force. [applause]

The gravity of the international relations is evident in events and facts that cannot be denied by anyone. Certain military conflicts are also persisting and have even escalated, and some new ones have broken out. The arms race has assumed enormous dimensions. This year military expenditures have exceeded the vast amount of $600 billion. At the same time, as a result of the deepening economic crisis, the number of unemployed people in developed capitalist countries alone now totals about 28 million: 12 million in the United States, and over 10 million in the EEC countries. Many international bodies and organizations, economic institutions and many economists believe that economic recovery will be slow, and that the number of unemployed people will increase in the coming year.

The financial policy and the high interest rates, unprecedented in modern society, are accentuating the economic and social-political crisis, and constitute an obstacle

for economic recovery. We are going through a very troubled time. Mankind is shaken by economic, political and military earthquakes, storms and hurricanes of great intensity which are severely trying the nations and inflicting great damage and suffering on them. In these difficult circumstances, braving the huge waves brought in their wake by hurricanes and earthquakes, we must navigate very carefully in order to ensure our fatherland's progress toward the peaks of the communist society.

I began with a succinct picture of international relations in order to better clarify the difficult conditions in which we have had to work in the years since the 12th congress and in order to decide what our course of action should be in the coming years to diminish the influence of the international economic crisis and to raise our socialist country to higher levels of progress and civilization. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, the Central Committee plenum of last June examined the current stage of the Romanian socialist society and mapped out guidelines for future development. Those will be debated at our national conference and adopted as program guidelines for the activities of our part, and people.

Similarly, the great forum of the Communists will debate various programs of particular importance for our socioeconomic development and for the unwavering implementation of the 12th party congress decisions. I am fully convinced that the debates and decisions of the national conference will establish clear guidelines and prospects for the work of the party and people designed to continuously improve the material and cultural well-being of all our people, to strengthen the fatherland's independence and sovereignty, and to bolster its cooperation with all the nations for a policy of detente, independence and peace. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, during the years of socialist construction Romania has recorded a marked socioeconomic development and has become an industrial-agricultural state with a modern and strong industry and with a progressive socialist agriculture. As is well known, during that period industrial production increased about 50 times over, and agricultural production 3.5 times over. Consequently, the national income increased 15 times over and permitted the implementation of considerable development programs and increases in the people's living standard. Alone during 1970-80 industry trebled and agriculture grew 1.6 times; fixed assets exceed 2,000 billion lei in 1982, and over 80 percent of them were achieved in the past 15 years. Science, education and culture -- primary factors for the general progress of the fatherland and for our successful advance along the path of socialism and communism -- also developed markedly.

Any person of good faith can ascertain, on the basis of realities and fact, the great achievements attained by our people in their socioeconomic development during the socialist period. All those great achievements demonstrate the force and capabilities of our workers class and all our people, masters of their own destinies, to ensure the continuous progress of the fatherland and to consciously build their own free future. [applause]

Considering the course of our country's development along the way of its harsh and troubled history, we can assert with justified pride that socialism alone created the conditions for rapidly eliminating our backwardness and underdevelopment and ensured Romania's rapid progress in all areas.

Throughout that period, our Communist Party honorably fulfilled its historical mission of organizing and leading the people's struggle and work along the path of great revolutionary changes and of socialist victory. The great achievements attained forcefully demonstrate the correctness of our party's policies, which is creatively applying the principles of scientific socialism and dialectical and historical materialism and general truths to the specific conditions prevailing in Romania. Our party has demonstrated through all its activities that it is unwaveringly serving the interests of the people, of independence and sovereignty and of peace, and that

it has never had and never will have a higher goal than to ensure the continuous development of the fatherland and to raise the material and cultural well-being of the people. This is precisely why our party enjoys the confidence and esteem of the people and is followed by all our people. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu and the people"]

Throughout this period our workers class has powerfully developed and has become the strongest social factor in our country, honorably fulfilling its historical mission of leading -- in alliance with the peasantry, intellectuals and other social categories and forces -- the entire nation along the path of socialism and communism. All the achievements attained during the period of socialist construction are due to the devoted work of the workers class, peasantry, intellectuals and all working people, regardless of nationality, of all our people who are unswervingly implementing the domestic and foreign policies of the RCP -- the leading force of the Romanian socialist society. On the occasion of the national conference, I want to convey to the workers class, peasantry, intellectuals and all working people, regardless of nationality, to all our people warmest congratulations and wishes for new successes in implementing the current 5-year plan, the decisions of the 12th party congress and the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and advance toward communism. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu and the people"]

Esteemed comrades, the basic objective of the 12th congress was Romania's transition to a new stage of development and the achievement of a new quality of life and work in all areas. At the same time, the congress stressed the need to intensively develop the energy and raw material basis, with a view to creating the necessary conditions for the continuous development of the national economy. In the course of the past three 5-year plans, especially between 1970 and 1980, we advanced on a very broad front of economic development. We traveled a great historical distance and covered several socioeconomic stages, and are now building the comprehensively developed socialist society. In view of this rapid progress, we must take all the necessary measures to consolidate our great achievements, to ensure a new balance and to harmoniously develop all the sectors of activity; we have to eliminate certain contradictions and disruptions that have emerged, and create conditions for our further advance toward the high peaks of a communist civilization.

This is the light in which we must view the 12th congress objective concerning a new quality and more rapid development of the energy and raw materials basis. At the same time, we must take into account the international economic and political situation, and the ever closer dependence between Romania and the socialist and other countries of the world, regardless of social system. In view of the above considerations, in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, we placed stress on intensively developing our economy and on achieving a superior quality, on increasing productivity and economic efficiency.

For that purpose, we adopted special measures and programs designed to implement the 12th congress objectives. Special attention has been given to measures designed to ensure an active commercial balance, and resolute steps have been taken to cut back imports and increase exports. As a result, in 1981 we had an active commercial balance totaling $300 million, and in 1982 we foresee a surplus balance of about $1.8 billion. In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan, the net industrial production increased by about 7 percent, and the production-goods by about 5 percent. We must frankly state before the party national conference that this rate of development is not satisfactory. It could have been higher if all sectors had acted with due responsibility. The past 2 years have highlighted the fact that certain industrial branches were excessively based on foreign imports and were not in a position to rapidly solve problems on their own. However, we decided that it is better to achieve lower rates of development and to place stress on solving problems with our own forces, thus reducing our dependence on imports from abroad.

We did not and do not, of course, intend to promote an autarkic economic policy; rather, we aim for a development based on equal and mutually advantageous cooperation. At the same time, we plan to prepare our national economy to face any possible situation.

Agricultural production has also increased considerably. In 1982 agricultural production was 7 percent greater than in 1980. For the first time we obtained 1,000 kg grain per capita. The production of vegetables, potatoes, fruit, sugar beet and sunflower was also good. In the livestock sector, although the number of animals increased -- thus permitting the complete fulfillment of the self-supply program -- we must add that due to certain deficiencies concerning slaughtering weight and animal production, we are not satisfied with the results obtained.

More resolute measures were taken to complete investment projects and to reduce the number of unfinished ones. In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan, we commissioned about 1,200 major industrial and agrozootechnical projects, which increased the value of fixed assets by over 300 billion lei.

During this period consistent efforts were made to reduce material and energy consumption, to recover and reuse materials, to increase labor productivity and economic efficiency. Consistent activities were carried out in the area of scientific research, education and cultural-educational activities, as particularly important factors for the development of our socialist society.

In general, we can state that despite the difficult conditions created by the international economic crisis which affected and continues to affect Romania, too, like all other nations, due to our resolute efforts to develop primarily the energy, raw materials and agricultural resources, we managed to considerably develop our national economy. The difficulties caused by earthquakes and hurricanes compelled us to slow down in our advance; however, we did record progress toward the objectives of the 12th congress. [applause]

Despite the good results obtained during these years, I want to once again stress that we are not completely satisfied; had people worked more responsibly and given greater attention to fully utilizing our resources, the national economy could have grown much more. Those 2 years have brought home to us various shortfalls. They have forcefully demonstrated the correctness of the 12th congress objectives concerning the more marked development of the energy sector and the achievement of economic self-sufficiency, increases in raw [Ceausescu interrupts himself] and energy self-sufficiency, increases in the raw material basis and more rapid agricultural progress.

We may state that the activities carried out in those 2 years and the achievements attained and the measures and programs established ensure more intensive economic development in the coming few years and the unflagging implementation of the 12th congress objectives. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, in view of the achievements of the first 2 years of the 5-year plan and of the international economic situation, in the coming 3 years of the Fourth 5-Year Plan we will further place stress on intensive development of all branches of activity, on improving product quality and on enhancing economic efficiency. We do not intend to further slow down our rate of progress or to take shelter and wait for the storm to die down. We are determined to take every necessary measure to increase our speed of progress despite the difficult conditions. Even if we do not manage to attain the high development rates established in the 5-year plan, we will still endeavor to record greater development than in the first 2 years. [applause]

We will resolutely strive to achieve the 12th congress goal concerning the transition to a new stage of development and the achievement of a new quality of life and work in all the sectors of the Romanian socialist society. In view of the fact that in the

first 2 years the rate of industrial development fell short of 5-year plan provisions, it can be expected to remain that way throughout the 5-year plan.

However, we do not believe that we should now adopt any special decision on the rate of development. The party Central Committee and the Grand National Assembly will examine the rate of development in relation to concrete conditions when they work out and finalize the annual plans. What I want to stress is that we do have the potential and in the coming 3 years must strive to come much closer to the rates of development envisaged in the 5-year plan.

In the coming 3 years we will resolutely act to implement the programs concerning the more rapid development of the energy and raw materials basis, to use our natural resources in production -- even poorer mineral deposits -- by extensively applying sophisticated technologies in the oil and mining areas, and better utilizing all domestic resources of raw materials and minerals. In point of fact I must stress that as of 1983 over 90 percent of primary energy consumption will be supplied from domestic resources; that means that we will be in a position to even prefulfill the 12th congress provisions concerning complete energy self-sufficiency. [applause]

Resolute measures are required to unwaveringly implement the programs on more rapidly developing the production of coal, crude oil and gas, and of the useful ferrous and nonferrous ores. Currently our industry is capable of manufacturing all the machines and installations required for the extractive industry and for implementing the programs submitted to the national conference.

Similarly, simultaneously with increasing the extraction of oil, gas and coal, we must develop hydropower and new energy resources such as solar, wind, hydrogen, biogas, biomass, thermal waters and other forms of energy. In view of our potential, we must resolutely strive to more rapidly complete power stations powered by coal and bituminous shales; as of 1983 we must overcome the temporary difficulties that have emerged in the area of energy as a result of failure to commission on schedule the new electrical stations.

Similarly, we must give great attention to implementing the program on hydropower plants and microhydropower plants, with a view to thus increasing the production of electrical energy. Resolute measures are required for on-schedule completion of the first nuclear power station and of the entire program, so that by the next 5-year plan much of the national energy basis should be supplied by nuclear power.

At the national conference, too, I want to stress the need for resolute steps to cut back consumption of electrical power, to improve technologies in all industrial branches -- where we have a great untapped potential -- with a view to cutting back the current energy consumption by at least 10-15 percent. We must also consistently implement the measures established on recovery, reutilization and savings of energy resources.

Important tasks have been established for the miners that are designed to fulfill the coal production and to supply the country with coking and burning coal in accordance with the programs decided.

Simultaneously with the development of raw materials resources, we must resolutely endeavor to reduce material consumption, to eliminate all waste, to judiciously utilize raw materials and to recover and reuse materials. As is envisaged in the programs submitted to the national conference and in other measures and programs established by the party Central Committee, we can ensure at least 50 percent or more raw materials for certain sectors from recovered and reused materials.

We must take all necessary measures to complete the installations required for completely utilizing recoverable materials. Important tasks devolve on the

metallurgical and chemical industries, which must supply the national economy with the necessary metallurgical and chemical materials, must better utilize raw materials and must produce more for export. Practically speaking, by 1985 we must supply the national economy with all the metals required from domestic production or from cooperation with socialist and other states on the basis of equal exchanges from a qualitative and value viewpoint.

Similarly, by the end of the 5-year plan, the chemical industry must supply the national economy with all the necessary materials from domestic resources or from cooperation ventures. Hence, both the metallurgical and the chemical industry -- which play an important role in ensuring technical-material supplies for all the sectors -- must consistently fulfill the responsible objectives and tasks incumbent on them.

In the area of machine-building, as I stressed, we have built a strong industry, equipped with modern machines and installations and capable of dealing with any technological problem. Now the machine-building industry is faced with the problem of fully utilizing its equipment and meeting the requirements of the national economy; it must contribute more intensively to exports and cooperation, and to better utilizing raw and other materials, and well as the labor of our workers class and people. The primary task of our machine-building industry is to manufacture highly technological and quality products that can compete with the best similar products in international markets.

As for the construction materials industry, its level of development is capable of meeting the needs of the national economy and of supplying important quantities of products for export.

The light industry has also developed to the point where it can supply all our people's requirements and increase its exports. In those sectors, too, stress is placed on improving product quality, reducing consumption, recovering and reusing materials, and increasing economic efficiency. We must ensure that the products of our light and construction materials industries are competitive from all viewpoints -- especially quality and appearance -- with the best similar foreign products.

The Central Committee has worked out several programs that ensure the rapid development and modernization of the food industry, so that by 1985 this branch can fully meet our people's needs. For example, sugar beet processing capacities will be twice as large as in 1980. We will develop the processing of oil, meat, milk and other products. Thus, the food industry will fully meet the requirements of the masses, and will ensure a rational nutrition.

In the area of agriculture the party Central Committee established a number of measures to optimally implement the 12th party decisions. Special programs have been worked out to increase the production of grain, vegetables, fruit and grapes, and to expand other branches that can supply raw materials for the light industry. On the basis of the self-supply program, improvements have been made in the livestock sector, especially the number of cattle and sheep. We believe that the implementation of the self-supply program will contribute to increasing the number of all livestock breeds and to providing appropriate consumer supplies of meat, milk, eggs and other products. All possible efforts must be made to provide appropriate fodder by capitalizing on the over 4 million hectares of pastures and utilizing the approximately 3 million hectares of forests for grazing purposes. This will create the necessary conditions for good animal foddering and animal production.

In order to fulfill the agricultural development programs, we must rationally utilize the land stock so that each square meter of land should be appropriately cultivated. Everything possible must be done to rapidly increase all crop yields per hectare, thus fully meeting the requirements of the national economy and exporting available products.

The situation that has been created in recent years, when agricultural imports exceeded agricultural exports, is utterly abnormal, considering the fact that even in the past Romania was an exporter of grain and agricultural produce, and that most hard currency incomes were derived from agricultural exports. That kind of situation cannot be brought back, considering the great increase in domestic consumption. However, we must do everything possible to considerably increase agricultural production, thus providing for both domestic consumption and for expanding exports of agricultural produce and obtaining the necessary hard currency for importing raw and other materials necessary for the development of the national economy.

On the basis of the measures taken, by 1985 we will have completely solved the problem of agricultural mechanization, including that of grain and corn harvesters. The Ministry of Machine-Building Industry must take measures to manufacture sophisticated machines and aggregates to permit the performance of simultaneous agricultural operations and thus to reduce fuel consumption. At the same time, the machinery sector and agricultural machinery stations must ensure optimal utilization and maintenance of tractors and other machines, and on-schedule and optimal performance of all agricultural operations.

We must resolutely act to implement irrigation programs, including the additional programs, and to carry out land amelioration programs; that is very important for increasing agricultural output in accordance with the 5-year plan provisions. Resolute measures are necessary to eliminate the shortcomings noted in various state agricultural enterprises and to bring all units up to the level of the best among them, so that each enterprise should obtain the maximum outputs warrented by its respective soil and climatic area.

The output of agricultural production cooperatives must also increase, as well as their economic efficiency. For that purpose we must strengthen the role played by general meetings and by management councils in organizing and carrying out all activities. Resolute steps are required to improve the work of the joint agroindustrial councils, with a view to optimally capitalizing on our agricultural potential and optimally organizing the animal and vegetable production.

In general, greater responsibility is required; order and discipline must be enhanced in all agricultural sectors. The cooperative members, experts, all working people and all management councils and agricultural bodies must resolutely struggle to carry out the new agrarian revolution.

In the area of forestry, resolute measures are required to attain the greatly responsible tasks established on conserving and developing the forestry stock and on capitalizing on its great resources. Steps must be taken to utilize forest trees, fruit and other products required in the national economy for consumer supplies and fodder.

As for transportation we must state the railway and road transportation is currently sufficient to meet economic needs and even exceed them.

We must do everything possible to economically utilize the means of transportation, simultaneously reducing the high consumption of fuel and energy in that sector. Great attention should be paid to developing river transportation, thus utilizing more intensively the Danube and other internal waterway potential. At the same time, we will have to ensure the complete implementation of the program on developing maritime transportation -- with our own vessels -- so that within a short period of time we should be capable of shipping imported or exported products on Romanian vessels. In general, I want to call your attention to the need for resolute measures to better utilize all the means of transportation, to eliminate waste and to increase the efficiency of transportation.

Hence, in all the branches of the national economy we have the potential to fulfill the 5-year plan provisions. All management councils and all working people -- as owners, producers and consumers -- must responsibly work to smoothly carry out all economic activities, to fulfill the itemized production and improve quality, and to increase productivity and efficiency throughout the national economy.

Esteemed comrades, in the first 2 years of the 1981-85 5-year plan we carried out a volume of investments totaling close to 430 billion lei. As I said, more than 1,200 industrial and agricultural projects have been commissioned. Important investment projects are scheduled for the coming years. In view of the negative situations that prevailed in this sector in the past, when work on certain projects took years longer than planned without any objective reason, the Central Committee decided that in 1983 efforts should be concentrated on completing and commissioning the projects begun in previous years. In 1983 more than 500 major industrial and agricultural projects are scheduled to be put into production. Work will not begin on new projects -- aside from several especially approved ones -- until all those under construction are commissioned. Priority will be given to completing production and housing projects. Other projects will be postponed or parceled out over a longer period of time. Comrades, it must be clear to us that we must eliminate waste, as well as the inexplicable inclination of certain cadres to begin projects that are economically inefficient while neglecting production projects.

As for supplies of machinery and equipment to enterprises, that will be correlated to the fulfillment of the degree of utilization of existing machinery; no new equipment will be supplied until the existing ones are utilized to capacity. All forces must be concentrated on completing the projects under construction, to reducing building time and commissioning production facilities sooner. We must thoroughly prepare technical-economic studies and execution blueprints for the new projects. Work may not begin on any investment project until all preparations have been completed and all conditions have been secured for finishing it in the shortest possible time.

Esteemed comrades, in order to fulfill the greatly responsible tasks of the coming years and to ensure the country's socioeconomic development we must make consistent efforts in the area of scientific research and education. The employees of research institutes must focus on solving the technical and technological problems facing our enterprises and national economy, on improving technologies, reducing consumption and raising the technical and qualitative level of products. We have considerable forces in all the research sectors. We must coordinate those forces through complex programs and must resolutely endeavor to more rapidly solve the problem facing each sector of activity. Let us resolutely implement the party decision on forging close links among research, education and production.

We must also consistently struggle to raise the level of our educational system at all levels, thus improving the professional and scientific-technical training of students in step with the new achievements and with contemporary knowledge in all areas and ensuring highly-competent cadres for all the sectors of activity.

As the same time, as I have repeatedly emphasized this year, we must take resolute measures to improve the professional and scientific-technical capabilities of the working people and of all the cadres. The matter of improving qualifications and expanding the knowledge of the working people and cadres constitutes stringent necessity for effectively dealing with the great problems concerning the development of the national economy, increasing labor productivity, improving product quality, and achieving high degree of economic efficiency. We have every reason to expect the men of science and education to optimally fulfill all their tasks. I want to express my conviction that all working people in science and education will do their utmost to fulfill their great responsibilities. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, in implementing the 12th congress objective concerning the achievement of a new quality of life and work, we must pay special attention to increasing the productivity of social labor. On the basis of good labor organization, mechanization and automation, of the use of modern methods in all the sectors of activity, we must substantially increase labor productivity. By the end of the current 5-year plan we must catch up with several of the developed countries. It must be clearly understood that there can be no question of building a comprehensively developed socialist society and advancing toward communism, of continuously raising the people's living standard, without a high degree of labor productivity. Our socialist economy must be made to achieve a superior productivity, thus becoming competitive from this viewpoint, too, with any developed economy.

Important tasks have been established in the area of economic-financial activities. Resolute steps must be taken to increase the social product and national income more markedly, to reduce material expenditures, increase the net production and the national income -- the only way of securing the necessary means of developing our society and raising the people's well-being. We must not for a moment forget that only if we increase the national income will we have the necessary means for raising the people's material and cultural well-being. We must understand that we cannot consume more than society actually has at a given moment. We are responsible to the country's present and future to take into account the development of the production forces and of the material basis of society, and to consume only as much as the development of the national economy permits. [applause]

This is why we must resolutely act to more markedly increase the national income and economic efficiency in all the sectors of activity. Improvements in the new economic mechanism are designed to base all socioeconomic activities on the principles of self-management and self-administration. Each collective of working people, general meeting and managerial council will be given greater responsibilities for working out and implementing the plan. New legal norms will be provided for status as owners, and each working people's collective will play a greater role in managing and developing socialist property. As collective owners of a portion of the people's property, the working people may now directly own -- through purchase of social shares worth up to 50,000 lei -- part of the property of the unit in which they work. Holding a social share of the property of the enterprise will increase people's feeling of ownership of socialist property and their concern with developing and protecting economic units, with increasing profitability and efficiency in all the areas of social activities.

Within the framework of those new ownership relations, the individual income of each working person will be even more closely related to production, labor productivity and economic efficiency, will depend on the utilization of raw materials and labor force. The system of profit-sharing and bonuses will be improved by increasing the percentage they make up of all incomes, and by awarding them in a differentiated manner, in keeping with each person's work.

We will more resolutely implement the socialist principle of distribution according to labor. The remuneration and income of each working person must reflect more faithfully the work done and the contribution made to fulfilling the production plan. The overall contract system must be expanded in all sectors. The working people's incomes must be set in relationship with the quantity and quality of labor. No one may receive a remuneration and share in profits without working. No one may have a guaranteed income without working. [applause]

The society guarantees a job to each citizen, according to his training and to the potential of the production forces. Each citizen has both the right and the obligation to work in some sector, according to his training, wherever he is needed or sent. No one may have a guaranteed income without working. We will more resolutely implement the socialist principle of no work without bread and no bread without work. [applause]

We are a working people. We want a society of free work, a society that has forever eliminated all forms of exploitation and oppression. Free work is the supreme wealth of the society. Only through the united work of all the citizens can we ensure the more rapid progress of the fatherland and continuously raise the level of material and cultural civilization of the people. We must more resolutely implement the norms of socialist ethics and the laws, according to which each citizen is obligated to perform useful work and no able-bodied person can live without working. It must be clear to us that the implementation of the new economic mechanism presupposes that each enterprise function on the basis of the principle of self-management and self-administration, and that each enterprise is profitable and economically efficient. [applause]

Let us work so that there are no unprofitable products and that all production is efficient. This constitutes a sine qua non for implementing the new economic mechanism of workers' self-management and self-administration.

We must instate a strict system of savings in all the sectors. Each leu spent or invested, in whatever area, must yield maximum economic efficiency and contribute to increasing the national wealth. As owners, producers and consumers, the working people and all our people are fully responsible for optimally managing the socialist property, and must work so as to increase economic efficiency in all the sectors of activity.

The financial bodies and banks are obligated to responsibly supervise the utilization of all funds and means, to contribute to improving economic-financial administration, and to financially control the activities of each sector. The National Bank must better fulfill its role within the banking system and financial system, by strengthening the national currency both internally and in relationship to other currencies. Financial order and discipline must be strengthened in all enterprises and sectors. Each socioeconomic unit and sector must have a budget for incomes and expenditures and must be capable of financing itself.

Preventive financial control and economic efficiency supervision must be strengthened. Greater care must be taken in granting credits and the use made of them must be supervised. The financial bodies of each enterprise and central and county financial bodies must act responsibly to increase the role of finances in all socioeconomic activities, with a view to strengthening financial order and discipline. This constitutes a must for ensuring a positive economic-financial self-management and self-administration and for fulfilling our socioeconomic development plan. [applause]

Dear comrades, the development of an extensive international economic cooperation and of economic exchanges with all the states, regardless of social system, constitutes an objective requirement for promoting efficient socioeconomic activities in our country. Romania is resolutely opposed to any measures designed to restrict or limit international economic exchanges. We believe that given the current economic crisis what is needed is not restrictions, but an intensification and development of exchanges and of production sharing. In view of that, in 1983 and in the years after that we will intensify our foreign trade.

As for the balance of payments, we will place special stress on further cutting back imports and increasing exports, with a view to gradually diminishing our foreign debt. By the end of 1985 we plan to at least halve our foreign debt, and to completely repay it in the next 2-3 years of the 1986-90 5-year plan.

Our foreign trade activities will focus on conducting balanced exchanges. We will not take out any credits so as not to add to our foreign debt. We will insist on even economic exchanges and on balanced imports and exports. We do not intend to narrow down our economic relations or exchanges. On the contrary, we believe that they can create conditions for expanding and developing our international economic exchanges.

We will give even greater attention to developing production sharing and to carrying out economic ventures in cooperation with various states, particularly developing countries. We are determined to further actively participate in the international division of labor, in efforts to overcome the current difficulties in international economic affairs, and in considerably developing economic relations and exchanges among nations, regardless of social system. We attach special importance to our relations with the CEMA member states, and with all socialist countries in general. As I said on other occasions, cooperation within CEMA was of great importance for the socioeconomic development of the member states, including Romania. At the same time, certain deficiencies and lack of accord emerged: They produced negative consequences, have created and create various difficulties for Romania. I will not speak about those problems at the national conference. I only want to mention the known fact that a summit meeting is being prepared to discuss cooperation within CEMA. Romania believes it very important that such an examination take place as soon as possible, to focus attention on current development problems that are to be solved in 1983-85, to eliminate difficulties and develop each national economy and all the socialist CEMA member states in general. At the same time, we favor of extensive debates on future development of cooperation and activities within CEMA. Currently, we believe that priority should be given to finding ways to better meet the requirements of the member states for energy, fuel and raw materials, to achieve improved production-sharing and specialization, and thus to better utilize existing production facilities and reduce investment costs in various sectors. We believe the CEMA member states have the potential to solve the energy and raw material problem, as well as agricultural and technological problems. Jointly they can solve many problems currently affecting the world. Solving certain technological problems in keeping with the international state-of-the-art will open up new prospects for intensifying cooperation with developed capitalist countries and other states of the world, and will enable the CEMA socialist member states to play a more important role in supporting the socioeconomic progress of developing countries. We must more actively endeavor to develop our relations with developing countries through joint ventures that can promote more rapid socioeconomic progress of each country. As I said before, we will further endeavor to develop our relations and cooperation with developed capitalist countries, in the spirit of the principles of equality and mutual advantage. In our foreign trade activities we will resolutely implement the new economic mechanism and the provisions of the foreign trade law, so that each unit and foreign trade enterprise can work on the basis of the principles of self-management and self-administration. Resolute measures are required to manufacture export products optimally and in accordance with quality specifications, thus appropriately utilizing raw materials and our people's work. At the same time, we will ensure that international exchanges and cooperation contribute to developing our friendship and cooperation with other countries and to promoting a policy of peace among all the nations of the world. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, the implementation of the 5-year plan provision of socioeconomic development, and of the programs submitted to the national conference will create the conditions necessary for continuously raising the people's material and cultural living standard in accordance with the provisions of the self-supply program. I repeat, however, for that we must ensure the regular implementation of the socioeconomic plan and increase the national income, economic efficiency and labor productivity. Only thus will we have the means for further raising the people's material and cultural well-being. Next year, assuming that the 5-year plan provisions are implemented, we plan to adopt measures to increase remunerations, so that by the end of 1983 real remunerations should increase by 4 percent. In general, we believe that in the course of the entire 5-year period -- assuming provisions are fulfilled -- we will be in a position to raise remunerations by about 8-10 percent, somewhat less than the 5-year plan provisions due to the fact that the general rate of development is itself lower. Similarly, the incomes of the peasantry will increase by about 12 percent. The self-management and self-supply program is designed to bolster the responsibility of communes, towns and counties for producing the agricultural-food and consumer

industrial goods required for appropriate supplies, in accordance with the plan provisions and with the criteria of a scientific and rational nutrition. In order to ensure appropriate supplies we must take all the necessary measures to fulfill the productions established. All state stocks and the agricultural self-supply stock must be secured. Self-management and self-supply require greater responsiblity for state stocks, which are decisive for meeting the general requirements of the country. Steps must be taken against self-consumption [autoconsum] and against tendencies to ignore delivery obligations to the state stocks. Fulfilling delivery obligations to the state constitutes a primary duty for all units and producers, communes, towns and counties. Only after delivery obligations to the state stocks have been fulfilled can consumption be increased, on the basis of larger outputs, in accordance with the law.

It must be clearly understood that each county must produce its own supplies, and that no one may draw on central stocks.

In order to secure appropriate supplies for communes that do not produce grain we have established organized deliveries of grain in exchange for products locally cultivated, primarily potatoes. You are familiar with the provisions of the self-supply program, and hence I will not dwell on them now. I only want to stress once again the need to resolutely and responsibly work to fulfill the productions established and to ensure appropriate consumer supplies. All citizens which hold land in one form or another must work it and must produce. Within the social division of labor, the peasants and all agricultural working people must produce and supply agricultural produce and foodstuffs. The alliance between the workers class and peasantry, between city and village is primarily reflected in production and in exchanges of agricultural-food and industrial goods. [applause]

Conditions are available for permitting consumption at the levels envisaged in the self-supply program and for more markedly developing public services. In general, despite certain difficult economic conditions, when many countries are cutting down on consumption and incomes, we will further increase the incomes of the working people and of the entire population, and the material and cultural well-being of all our people -- the supreme goal of the party's policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society that we are building in Romania. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu and the people"]

All that, comrades, requires resolute measures to consistently implement the 12th congress decisions and the programs and measures submitted to the national conference. All working people, regardless of nationality, must responsibly work, as genuine owners, producers and consumers, to ensure optimal socioeconomic activities. It depends on our work, on the work of each of us and of all our people whether we can improve our life and make it more prosperous: It is our work that will make our society blossom and permit us to stride along the path of the party's program and bolster our economic strength, national independence and sovereignty. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu and the people"]

Esteemed comrades, the national conference will center its debates on aspects of the current stage of socialist construction in our country, on theoretical and ideological matters, and on the party's political-educational activities. After last June's plenum of the Central Committee, those matters were extensively discussed by the entire party and by all working people, regardless of nationality. Those discussions by the party and people and the fact that they are featured on the agenda of the national conference must lead to a better understanding of the road traveled by our people, led by the party, in building socialism, and of the profound changes that have occurred in our socialist society and in international politics: They must permit the establishment of concrete measures for future activities, with a view to unflaggingly implementing the 12th congress decisions and the party's program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and advance toward communism.

Since those matters were extensively discussed and since the participants in the national conference have studied the documents of the Central Committee plenum, I will only mention succinctly the most important aspects.

The Romanian socialist society has developed rapidly and has reached a high level. Simultaneously with the considerable increase in and modernization of the production forces, production relations have also improved. Nevertheless, there exists a certain contradiction between the marked development of the production forces and the development of social and production relations, which are somewhat trailing behind. We must endeavor to achieve the fullest possible accord between those two aspects in order to further improve social relations and forms of leadership and planning, and to increase the role of the masses in the management of all sectors of activity.

A certain disproportion has also emerged among certain sectors of the national economy. That has caused the emergence of certain contradictions which must be eliminated. I am referring primarily to the disproportion and to achieve an even and harmonious development of all the sectors of activity.

There exists a certain disproportion and contradiction between the marked development of industry and the slower development of agriculture. This requires resolute steps to more rapidly develop the agriculture and to achieve a balance and an appropriate relationships between industry and agriculture, on the basis of the principle that both sectors are decisive for building socialism and communism, and for raising the people's general well-being.

The increase in the living standard and rapid consumption increases have caused the emergence of a contradiction between consumer demand and available means. A disproportion has appeared between consumer demand and consumer goods production. In certain areas, consumer demand exceeds to a certain extent the means available and the current level of our national economy. Hence, we must resolutely strive to develop more rapidly the consumer goods production and services, and at the same time, to tailor consumption to the means available and to the level of our socialist society. We must not forget for a moment that consumption levels may not exceed the means of the society and the level of development of the material base, and that one cannot consumer more than is produced in society at a given time. In point of fact, one may not consume everything that is produced, either:
To consume everything or almost everything that is produced would affect the present and future of the country. [applause]

As I said on previous occasions, we must keep in mind the fact that the national product must provide for both consumer requirements and for the future development of our socialist society, must provide for both its present and future. Hence, in order to eliminate the contradiction between consumer requirements and the level of development of the society we must strive, on the one hand, to more markedly develop the production forces and the consumer goods production, and on the other hand, to judiciously distribute the consumer and development funds, in accordance with the future needs of our socialist society.

There is also a certain contradiction between the development of the production forces and of the technical base of the society, and the level of socialist consciousness and professional and technical qualification of the masses. This situation requires resolute measures to raise the level of education and professional training, to improve the working people's professional, scientific and technical skills, and to develop the socialist consciousness -- a very important factor for increasing the role of the masses in the management of all the sectors of society.

The current stage of development of the Romanian society forcefully raises the need to improve the leadership and planning of socioeconomic activities. We must draw the due conclusions from the contradictions noted in various areas of our socialist

society, and must act resolutely to rapidly eliminate them, thus reestablishing the fullest possible balance and accord between production forces and production relations, and among the various sectors of socioeconomic activity. Eliminating the contradictions, establishing the fullest possible accord and harmoniously developing the entire society constitute an objective requirement for our firm progress along the path of implementing the party's program, of raising the fatherland to higher peaks of progress and civlization, of raising the general material and cultural well-being of the people, and of consolidating Romania's independence and sovereignty. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu-RCP"]

The 12th congress decisions, the 5-year plan, the measures submitted to the national conference for debate, and the programs established for the coming years ensure the achievement of those targets and create conditions for overcoming contradictions, for achieving a greater degree of accord and for the rapid development of our socialist society.

Esteemed comrades, at this new stage of development of our society we must draw conclusions on certain problems. As is emphasized in the documents of the June plenum of the Central Committee, we must resolutely proceed to eliminate everything that is old and outdated and that no longer suits the new stage of development. We must make room for what is new by eliminating dogmatic concepts, preconceived ideas and theses that, as we say, have outlived their usefulness. Hence, we must understand that the development of the socialist society is directly linked to the requirements of an extensive democratic system permitting the participation of all social categories and of the broad masses, regardless of nationality, in the management of the various sectors of activity.

We must proceed from the principle that socialism is built by the masses; it is built with the people and for the people, and socialist democracy constitutes an objective need for the conscious assertion of the masses as leaders of all the sectors of activity. We must demonstrate in practice the superiority of the socialist democracy and of the direct participation of the masses in the management of the society over any form of bourgeois democracy. [applause]

In this respect we can state that we have established a system of intensively democratic bodies beginning with basic socioeconomic units and up to the level of national bodies. We have management councils and general meetings of working people and congresses and various national councils of central management which provide a vast democratic system of mass participation in leading the society, a system that imparts a new and democratic scope to the socialist construction in our fatherland. It can be asserted that we have established an appropriate accord between the development of the production forces of the Romanian socialist society in general, and the democratic system of mass participation in leadership. What is now required is to ensure that those democratic forums of social leadership function properly and are continuously perfected.

The state occupies an important place within the above system. Its function is to provide uniform and planned leadership for all socioeconomic activities and for all sectors, and to ensure an even and harmonious development of society and the fullest possible accord between production forces and social relations.

We must resolutely improve the activities of state bodies in all sectors of activity, bolster mass supervision of all state bodies, and strengthen order and discipline in all areas. Let us not forget for a moment that the development of socialist democracy and the participation of the broad masses in leadership require that all social life is based on laws and norms that precisely stipulate directions of activity; observance of the laws is an objective requirement for the development of the society. We must check and ensure a balance and accord among democratic bodies and state bodies, which do not overlap and which must harmoniously cooperate to form a uniform system of socialist democracy in a democratic socialist state, in the state of workers' revolutionary democracy. [applause]

I believe that we must fully endorse the plenum decision to totally abandon the thesis of the dictatorship proletariat, which is unsuitable for Romania, and to adopt the thesis of a state of workers revolutionary democracy, which is opening the way for a new and superior development for mankind. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu-RCP"]

Esteemed comrades, we must resolutely endeavor to improve the activities of our judicial bodies, and of the bodies of internal order -- militia and security -- in order to ensure that the working people's property, the property of all our people, the work and life of each citizen, the laws of the country and the revolutionary achievements and independence of the fatherland are protected. The bodies of internal order and justice must work in close relationship with the democratic bodies and with the masses, and must adopt the necessary measures to consolidate order and discipline, to enforce the law and to sanction violators of the law and of the norms of social coexistence.

As I said before no one should be punished unjustly; no abuse or illegal actions will be condoned. However, no one should escape punishment for violating the law or the norms of social coexistence, or for damaging the socialist system or the interests of the fatherland.

Similarly, we must never forget that we are building socialism and developing our fatherland amid complex international conditions, such as the threat of war and possibly of a destructive world war. Hence, we are responsible for our socialist society, for the independence and future of the fatherland to continuously work to strengthen the fatherland's defense capability. In view of the scientific materialist-dialectical concept that defending the fatherland is the obligation of all the people, we are developing our military forces, our armed forces and armed sections of the population, whose duty is to be always prepared to defend the socialist revolutionary achievements, the peaceful work of the nation, its peace and quiet, and to ensure Romania's independence by repelling any aggression. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu and the people"]

We are constantly prepared to cooperate with the armies of the Warsaw Pact socialist member countries and with the armies of other socialist states, and with friendly nations, in the belief that even after the disappearance of military pacts, until the disappearance of wars from human society, it will be necessary to maintain and develop our defense capability and cooperation with the armies of friendly states, with a view to repelling any imperialist aggression and ensuring the independence and sovereignty of our countries [Ceausescu pauses] of Romania. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, the development of our socialist society has contributed to the consolidation of our nation and of its new features; it has permitted us to modernize and to raise our socialist nation to higher levels. Proceeding from the materialist-dialectical and historical concept on the role of the nation in society -- including the socialist society -- and from the fact that for a long time, under communism, too, the nation will continue to play an important role for social progress and for cooperation with other nations, we have the duty to develop the new traits of our nation, to homogenize it and strengthen its unity as a basic factor of the victory of socialism and communism in Romania. [applause]

At the same time, in view of the existence of coinhabiting nationalities in Romania -- resulting from historical developments and of centuries-long coexistence -- we must unflaggingly apply the Marxist-Leninist policy of our party to the nationality problem, and ensure complete equality of rights in all respects, and equal participation by all the citizens, regardless of nationality, in leading the society. We must always keep in mind the fact that at difficult times reactionary elements always used to sow discord and enmity among nations and working people of different nationalities. Hence, by consistently implementing the party's nationality policy and ensuring conditions for the full assertion of working people of different nationalities, we must give a resolute rebuff to all nationalistic and chauvinistic

phenomena, and firmly repel any attempts by foreign reactionary elements to interfere in Romania's internal affairs. [applause]

We must never forget that the working people of the coinhabiting nationalities are citizens of Socialist Romania, with the same rights and duties as all other citizens of the fatherland. In keeping with the overall social progress and the resolution of problems concerning our social development, we are resolving the problems of all working people, regardless of nationality. We can be proud of the way in which we have resolved the nationality problem. We have created conditions for the participation of working people of various nationalities and all our people in developing the socialist society. We wish that minorities in all countries should enjoy at least the same rights and freedoms as is the case in Romania. [cheers, chants]

We must always proceed from the need to continuously strengthen the unity of working people, regardless of nationality, in their capacity as owners, producers, end-users and conscious builders of socialism. We must carry out a sustained activity to strengthen the unity of all our people, within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF], under the leadership of the RCP, the leading political force in society. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, the documents submitted to our national conference for discussion stress that strengthening the party's role as leading political force in all fields of activity must never lead to diminishing the role of the socialist state as a unitary leadership body of the people's activities in building socialism and communism. The party's leading political role requires that continuous action be taken to increase the responsibility of state bodies and other democratic social leadership bodies. The party has the mission to always work to improve and increase the role of the state and all democratic bodies in all fields of activity.

The Communists working in the state apparatus and various democratic bodies are dutybound to do their best to ensure that the respective bodies and organizations function well. They are responsible before the party and state for doing everything possible to ensure that the state and democratic social leadership bodies commendably fulfill their role in all fields of activity. The better their activity, the more the party's role as leading political force will increase. The party must not replace but rather ensure the proper functioning of state bodies and democratic social leadership bodies. This is the historical mission of our party in the current stage. [cheers, chants]

The Communists must never forget that when they joined the revolutionary party they freely assumed the responsibility to act in an organized manner to defend the people's interests, to ensure the victory of socialism and communism, to defend the country's independence and sovereignty and to promote a policy of peace and cooperation in the world. They do not and may not have special rights or privileges. Their rights are the same as those of all the people. Their duty is to work to implement all measures for the country's development and for raising the people's general well-being. They should act to attain these goals in close unity and at the head of the working people's masses. [cheers, chants]

As revolutionaries and as members of a party which has assumed the historic role of leading all the people toward a better and more just society -- the society without classes, the communist society -- they even have additional obligations. Party bodies and organizations in all fields, the county committees and the central committee must energetically work to unite the efforts of the broad masses to ensure the proper functioning of state bodies and democratic bodies, central bodies and national management bodies, seeing to it that order and discipline is strengthened and that their activity to comprehensively develop our socialist society is better coordinated.

The fulfillment of the party's historical mission and its role as leading political force and vital center of our socialist society requires the continuous improvement

of the activity of party bodies and organizations. We must further develop party democracy, strengthen the critical and self-critical spirit and adopt firm positions against shortcomings. Particular attention should be paid to organizing work in order to fulfill tasks in all fields and better distributing forces and cadres in all fields. We must work resolutely to improve the work style and methods and to perfect collective work and leadership along with the increase in individual responsibility.

The activity of all kinds of party bodies and organizations, communists, aktivists and all cadres must not be assessed according to words, but rather according to results and the devotion to the party, the interests of the working people's masses and the fatherland and the cause of socialism. [cheers, chants]

The increase in the role of the party requires, as an objective necessity, that its ranks be continuously strengthened, that the political and ideological level of party members be improved, that its force be continuously increased and that its struggle and action unity in the service of the fatherland, socialism and peace be strengthened. [cheers, chants]

In our system of workers democracy and in the socioeconomic activity, the trade unions, youth and women's organizations and other mass and public organizations have the task and role to unite the people's masses in unflinchingly implementing the socioeconomic development plan and the measures to continuously raise the people's material and intellectual well-being. The organization of the SDUF must also work along these lines; this organization's membership includes millions of citizens of the fatherland, regardless of nationality, who are not party members.

An important role in uniting all the people's efforts devolves on the SDUF, which, under the RCP's political leadership, includes all mass and public organizations, all social categories and all social forces of Romania, thus ensuring the active and continuous participation of all the people in consciously molding their own future, the socialist and communist future and in powerfully asserting Romania's independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in the entire activity of socioeconomic development and socialist construction, a particularly important role devolves on the theoretical and educational activity and on the political work to shape the socialist awareness of the broad masses and the new man. As I have already mentioned, compared with the powerful development of the forces of production and our economy and society, one can notice a certain lagging in the theoretical-ideological activity and the political-educational work to shape the socialist consciousness.

As is stressed in the documents submitted to the national conference for discussion, we must pay greater attention to this field and carry out a more consistent activity to clarify various theoretical and ideological problems in accordance with the development stage of our society, with the world situation, with the revolutionary changes taking place in the world and with the new problems emerging in our times. We must help the working people understand the events, the sense of social evolution and the fact that the entire domestic and international development powerfully confirms the correctness of the materialist-dialectical outlook of the world and life and that the socialist organization is the only way to eliminate inequalities, the oppression of peoples by other peoples and the exploitation and oppression of the broad masses, to build a more humane, just and better society which can ensure equal living and working conditions to all citizens and to facilitate the full assertion of the human personality and each nation. [applause]

While always stressing -- in our political-educational work to mold the new man -- the superiority of socialism, revolutionary humanism, socialist relations of production and the distribution of the social and national product in the spirit of socialist ethics and equity, we must also see to it that these principles are implemented in all fields of activity.

We must lay greater emphasis on the role of working people as owners, producers and end-users and on the need to continuously defend and develop socialist property, as the foundation of social equality and of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and communism. [applause]

Throughout our political-educational activity we must stress the need for each member of our society and each citizen, regardless of his place of work to show concern and responsibility -- all the more so must we stress the great responsibility incumbent upon leadership cadres in all sectors -- for continuously developing the socialist society. We must never forget that the entire social development, the people's development and the fatherland's independence depend upon strengthening the technical material base of the socialist society, as a basic and decisive element of expanding the national wealth of the entire society.

The political-educational activity to mold the new man, with high awareness, must lay particular emphasis upon increasing responsibility for socialist property and the fatherland's defense and development. The political-ideological work must cultivate the patriotic pride of the working people, regardless of nationality, for our people's glorious past of struggle and wonderful achievements in building socialism; it must powerfully develop sentiments of love for the people, fatherland and party and the determination to always be ready to serve the interests of the country and the cause of socialism. [applause]

Particular attention must be paid to educating the youth and training it for work and life. Let us instill in young people's minds the revolutionary spirit, the desire to master the latest achievements of science and human knowledge and the determination always to act as revolutionaries and patriots and always to serve the people, the cause of socialism and peace. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, we must develop the working people's sentiments of international solidarity, friendship and equal cooperation with other peoples. It is also necessary to act firmly to unmask and combat various concepts of the old society, imperialist and colonialist theories and the capitalist ideology, by highlighting the superiority of our outlook of the world and life, socialist relations, socialist humanism and man's rights and freedoms in the socialist society. We must always stress that our revolutionary humanism and our entire society gives priority to man and his well-being and happiness, to the assertion of human personality and to creating conditions for the equal assertion and manifestation of each citizen, regardless of nationality. We must work resolutely to ensure that these principles are clearly manifested in all fields and we must firmly combat any tendency to ignore or violate these principles. [applause]

Throughout our political-educational work to shape the new consciousness, we must proceed from the revolutionary materialist-dialectial outlook of world and life and from the principles of scientific-socialism. This requires a profound understanding of the great social achievements, the objective development guidelines, the law-governed social evolution, and the achievements of universal science and knowledge, which daily confirm the correctness of the materialist-dialectical outlook of life and world and the materialism of the world.

We must resolutely combat and unmask all retrograde and mystic mentalities and must fight bourgeois influences in men's consciousness and life. We must resolutely combat nationalism chauvinism, racism, antisemitism and any attempts at debasing or setting men at loggerheads, as these are manifestations of reactionary forces, who, in the current international circumstances, again resort to old methods and practices to weaken the unity and cohesion of progressive forces and the broad masses in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and war and for a policy of peace and national independence. Such cheap manifestations have always been foreign to our party and socialist society. Our party and society have always acted and will consistently work to ensure that all working people scientifically understand the

socialist principles and the laws of socioeconomic development and to increase the responsibility and conscious participation of all the people in running all fields of activity.

Very important tasks devolve on the party, mass and public organizations, creative unions, the press, radio, television and all educational bodies in our society. Under party leadership, they must carry out a consistent activity to raise the political-ideological level of cadres, to mold the revolutionary and socialist consciousness of the masses and to arm all the people with the revolutionary concept of struggling for socialism, communism and a society of social justice and equality. [applause]

The press, radio and television, all mass media, literature, the theatre, cinema and other arts appealing to millions of people must tackle the problems that emerge in our society in a party spirit; they must adopt a firm critical attitude toward various negative aspects and must give priority to disseminating our party's revolutionary principles and concepts about life and world; they must arm the youth and all the people with the theory of the revolutionary struggle and develop their firm resolution to defeat any difficulties and ensure our fatherland's ceaseless progress toward the highest peaks of progress and civilization. [cheers, chants]

The documents on the current stage of socialism in our country and the theoretical problems of the theoretical-educational activity, as an integral part of the party program, lend bright new prospects to all the activity carried out by the party and people. They must dynamize activities in all sectors and lead to bring about an increasing strengthening of the party's force and unity and the party's leading role in enhancing the unity of all the people within the SDUF and strengthening our fatherland's sovereignty and independence. [cheers, chants]

The documents submitted to the discussion of the national conference ensure the implementation of the 12th party congress decisions, contribute to Romania's progress toward new development levels and guarantee a continuous increase in the people's material and intellectual well-being. It is now decisive to strengthen the organizational and practical activity to implement all these targets. Party-state bodies, the democratic bodies, all working people, regardless of nationality, and all the people must make united efforts to commendably implement the economic development plan and all other decisions. Everybody at his working place must firmly work to fulfill the tasks entrusted to him by the party and people, thus answering with concrete work and deeds the trust placed in him by the people and party and ensuring the implementation of the 12th congress decisions and the party program. We have everything necessary, the possibility and capacity to overcome difficulties in one or another sector. Let us ensure that the effects of the world economic crisis are felt as little as possible in our country; let us fulfill the tasks of proceeding to a new development stage and a new quality of life and work; let us raise Romania onto higher peaks of progress and civilization.

Under difficult conditions of storm, let us prove the force and durability of our socialist society and the capacity of the party to lead the people and fatherland toward new victories. Let us prove that our communist party, born in stormy times and strengthened in the difficult underground years, is not afraid of difficulties and is honorably fulfilling its historic mission under any circumstances. Let us show that the party will always fulfill its mission of uniting and leading our people in overcoming any difficulties and along the road to the high and bright peaks of the communist society. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in the period since the 12th party congress, there have been profound revolutionary, national and social changes in international life. New changes have occurred and continue to take place in the balance of power between various states and groups of states at the international level. Contradictions between various states and groups of states continued to be manifest and even took a sharper turn. As I have already said, the new contradiction between rich and poor countries is very acute these

days; it is becoming the most important contradiction of the contemporary age. We have witnessed a number of manifestations of the policy of force and interference in the affairs of other states, new military conflicts have occurred and the arms race has been intensified, something which seriously aggravated the international relations, and increased the danger of military conflicts and wars, including a nuclear world war. The aggravation of the world situation and the increase in the danger of war imperiously demand the unity of all realistic, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces and all peoples in the struggle to halt the trend to new wars and a world war, and to defend peace, the supreme asset of all peoples and all mankind. [cheers, chants]

Proceeding from the great changes in the international life and from the continuous change in the balance of power, one can assert that the thesis on the possibility of preventing a new world war remains valid. At the same time events and life demonstrate the danger posed by certain theses and illusions about the irreversible nature of detente and the disappearance of the danger of war. We deem it necessary to bear in mind and proceed from the fact that, by joint action, the peoples can prevent new wars and a world war and resume and continue the trend toward detente. At the same time we must be aware of the fact that the danger of new wars remains, including a world war, and that the policy of detente has not become irreversible and has not fully triumphed.

Proceeding from these truths, which are clearly manifest in the world political life, we will have to draw appropriate conclusions concerning the international activity of our party and state. We live in a period of powerful confrontation between two world trends: On the one hand, the imperialist policy of force, diktat, interference in the affairs of other states, maintenance and division of spheres of influence and armament, which leads to the danger of new wars, including a world war. On the other hand, there is the powerful trend to eliminating the imperialist and colonialist policy, spheres of influence and interference in the domestic affairs of other states, promoting new interstate relations based on equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, and noninterference in domestic affairs, eliminating the policy of force and diktat and ensuring each people's right to free and independent development, in accordance with its wishes and without any outside interference. The latter trend increasingly draws together scores and hundreds of millions of people everywhere, the realistic and progressive forces and all people desiring freedom, independence and peace. [cheers, chants]

We must realize that the confrontation between these two trends at the world level will continue for a long time. It is therefore necessary to unite all progressive, anti-imperialist and realistic forces and all peoples to reject the policy of war and catastrophe and to promote a new policy which can ensure each people's independent socioeconomic development, equal cooperation between all peoples and the triumph of peace and international cooperation.

In the years which have elapsed since the 12th congress, our party, state and people have carried out an intensive international activity to resolve the complex contemporary problems in the interest of the policy of detente, peace and cooperation among nations. Through its entire international activity and positions adopted toward international conflicts, Romania has clearly stated the Romanian people's desire to live in peace and cooperation with all nations, regardless of social system. Our people have made an active contribution to efforts to resolve the great international problems through negotiations. We can assert that the international activity of our state and party is in full accordance with the interests of the Romanian people and all peoples, and the cause of peace, national independence and cooperation between states.

Proceeding from the seriousness of the current situation, we must intensify international efforts and cooperation to halt tension, resolve problems through negotiations, halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear.

Our great responsibility to our people requires that we do everything possible to ensure peace and guarantee the supreme right of peoples and men to existence, life and free and independent development. [cheers, chants]

Mankind has reached such a stage that the level of armaments, particularly the nuclear arsenal, jeopardize the existence and civilization of human society itself. Therefore, the basic problem of our age is to prevent war and secure peace. It is more than ever necessary to do everything to prevent war and ensure peace. There is no higher goal than disarmament, primarily nuclear, and ensuring each nation's security and world peace. Responsible action should be taken to halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament, under strict international control. In this respect Romania has advanced a number of proposals, which express the Romanian people's desire for peace. There are also important proposals made by many other states. We believe that all these proposals should be taken into consideration by the disarmament conference, and on their basis one should map out a program of disarmament under international control.

We attach great importance to negotiations between the USSR and United States to reduce strategic nuclear weapons. We believe that everything possible should be done for an agreement, as soon as possible, on halting the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and withdrawing the existing ones. Likewise, we speak out for reaching an agreement on arms reduction at the Vienna negotiations.

In attaining disarmament one should proceed from the need to ensure a balance of power not by increasing but by reducing armaments to a level as low as possible. Freezing military expenditures and proceeding to their reduction is a prerequisite for both diminishing the arms race and war preparations and for creating the necessary conditions for overcome the current world economic crisis and bringing about a socioeconomic recovery. Resolute measures should be taken to reduce the role of military blocs and proceed to the simultaneous dismantling of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. [cheers, chants]

Until the two military blocs are dismantled, great importance would devolve upon a joint agreement between the two blocs' member states to reduce military expenditures by 20 percent, compared with the 1982 level, by 1985. Why this, comrades? Because almost 80 percent of military and arms expenditures are by countries belonging to the two military blocs. Therefore, the transition of these countries to reducing expenditures and disarmament would be decisive for overall disarmament and reducing the arms race. [cheers, chants]

Similarly we believe that direct negotiations should begin between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on disarmament and on eliminating the threat of a war. As a first step, the military activities of the two blocs should be limited. In order to resume the policy of detente, reduce international tension and strengthen trust, a great significance would devolve on withdrawing the troops of the two military blocs from the territory of other states; dismantling military bases on the territory of other states; a solemn pledge not to deploy any kind of nuclear weapons on the territory of other states; and granting guarantees to states renouncing nuclear weapons that these weapons will never be used against them. The adoption of such measures by the two military blocs, which possess the largest part of overall armaments and almost all the nuclear weapons, would make a decisive contribution to disarmament and peace in the world. The Socialist Republic of Romania solemnly declares that it will firmly work along these lines. I propose that the conference decide that our country's military expenditures until 1985 be limited to the 1982 level. [cheers, chants]

We want to express the hope that all countries of the two blocs and primarily the Soviet Union and the United States will understand the great responsibility toward the peoples devolving on them to stop the arms race and ensure world peace and that they will act accordingly. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, another problem of basic importance of our epoch is that of underdevelopment, of the constant widening of gaps between rich and poor countries and of the need to establish new relations between countries and of creating a new world economic and political order.

The serious situation that has arisen following the economic crisis and the high interest rates policy require firm measures to support the developing countries and create conditions for their socioeconomic progress and to achieve an appropriate understanding between the rich and poor countries.

It is obviously necessary to deal, in a new spirit, with the problem of loans granted to the developing countries. We believe that poor countries' debts should be cancelled completely and those of less developed countries should be generally cut back, that interest rates should be limited and that poor countries should further be supported in their socioeconomic development.

We believe that an important role in this respect should be played by a more active cooperation between the developing countries.

It is necessary to strengthen their solidarity and cooperation, both to resolve certain development problems by themselves and to conduct negotiations, with better results, with the developed countries with a view to achieving appropriate understandings and to establishing a new international economic order. We believe it necessary to proceed -- within the United Nations -- to formulating a code, a charter on the principles of international relations. The old order based on inequality, on the oppression of certain peoples and on the supremacy of monopolies and of financial capital is no longer in accordance with the international situation. It has become an obstacle in the development of the world economy and must be completely eliminated.

It is necessary to achieve a new world economic order based on new principles of equality and equity and of mutual advantage. The new order must ensure equitable international economic cooperation and trade exchanges. Within this framework, it is necessary to ensure an appropriate relationship between raw material prices and those of industrial products. The elimination of underdevelopment requires the access, under advantageous conditions, of all countries to modern technology. The rich countries must understand that they are directly responsible for the current situation and for assisting the developing countries. Their own development and the stability of the world economy in general are determined by realistic and bold solutions to the problems of underdevelopment to achieve economic and trade relations based on equity, equality and mutual advantage.

Taking into consideration the existence of various areas of tension, Romania has advocated and firmly advocates the cessation of military conflicts between countries, the solution of problems by negotiations alone; no matter how difficult or long such negotiations may be, they are incomparably better than any military conflict. It is in the interests of each people and those of the general cause of cooperation and peace to renounce weapons and to proceed to negotiations to resolve all disputes between countries.

Romania believes that it is necessary for international bodies and primarily the United Nations to adopt a more determined position to bring about a solution to all conflicts in this spirit. It is imperatively necessary to completely eliminate the policy of spheres of influence and interests. The policy of great power behavior, of hegemony and of interference in any form in the domestic affairs of the small- and medium-sized countries must be eliminated. The interests of world cooperation demand a cessation of economic pressures and sanctions. They demand that the principles of equality and equity in interstate relations be resolutely observed. No one, no country, no matter how large it may be, can assume the right to decide what another country should or should not do. It is necessary to completely eliminate the policy of force and diktat. Each people's right to choosing the socioeconomic development road they desire must be unflinchingly observed. [applause]

In international relations all countries, and primarily the great powers, must assume the solemn obligation to guide themselves by and to observe the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage.

Events and life have forcefully demonstrated that only on the basis of those principles can the complex problems of the world situation be resolved. Only thus can relations of cooperation and peace throughout the world be ensured. Proceeding from this, Romania believes that it is necessary to create, within the United Nations, a special body for good offices that will act in the direction of resolving conflicts and any problems between countries by peaceful negotiations.

In this connection, I want to refer only to the situation in the Middle East. Events in past months and Israel's aggressive actions have created a particularly serious situation. A comprehensive solution in the Middle East is posed today with greater urgency. Romania has always advocated and advocates the withdrawal of Israel from the territories occupied in 1967, a solution to the Palestinian people's problem on the basis of self-determination and the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

Events in the past months have forcefully demonstrated that there is a single road to a just peace in the Middle East: the road of negotiations and discussions. In the new situation that has arisen, we believe that it is necessary to take firm actions in the direction of convening an international conference with the participation of all concerned parties, including the PLO.

Within the framework of those negotiations, all proposals made both by Arab countries and other countries, and certainly by the sides concerned, must be taken into consideration. In resolving the Middle East problems, it is necessary to proceed from the fact that there must be an independent Palestinian state, and that the existence of the state of Israel must be ensured. Good-neighborly relations of cooperation must be established between those states and all Middle East countries based on respect for independence and noninterference in internal affairs. [applause]

I do not want to refer to other conflicts and disputes. Once again I want to repeat, however, that it is necessary for us to do all we can to stop them and to start resolving them by negotiations.

We grant full support to peoples struggling for winning and developing their national independence. We support the struggle for independence waged by the Namibian people, by SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] -- the leader of the Namibian people; we believe that they must do all they can to ensure Namibia's independence, thus eliminating a further form of colonialism, and to stop the policy of apartheid and racism in South Africa.

Comrades, in past years the international situation has revealed a reactivation in various countries of reactionary, neofascist forces. Signs of chauvinism, racism, anti-Semitism and terrorism are intensifying. So, too, is a broad activity of disinformation of public opinion and of justifying the trend toward tension, armaments and violation of the rights and freedoms of the broad people's masses and of the national independence of peoples. It must be mentioned that the reactionary, neofascist circles hide their true purposes from the peoples and the masses and present themselves as defenders of human rights, of democratic rights, while in reality they ignore the most elementary rights and freedoms of man and of peoples everywhere, thus trying to ensure the continuation of the trend toward oppression, enslavement, enmity and domination of the peoples.

Within this framework, an important role is played by the activity carried out against the socialist countries by making use of certain mistakes or certain difficulties in certain countries. It can be stated that we witness a general

intensification of the antisocialist and anticommunist activity as part and parcel of the intensified arms race and of restricting democratic freedoms and rights, and of violating the independence and sovereignty of various countries.

It is well known that anticommunism has always been part and parcel of the struggle waged by the reactionary fascist forces which, in fact, opened up the road to establishing that party between the two world wars and which brought about World War II. Therefore, very firm action is needed to expose the policy promoted by the reactionary, neofascist forces, to defend man's basic freedoms and rights to labor, freedom, dignity and the peoples' basic right to independence. [applause]

The policy of disinformation and slandering of socialism cannot hide from reality the assertion of the superiority of the new social system. No kind of activity of the reactionary forces will be able to stop more and more peoples from proceeding to socialist development in one form or another in keeping with the conditions in each country. Socialism cannot be exported. It cannot and must not be imposed from outside; it can be achieved only by the social progressive forces in each country and must express the desire of each people. At the same time, any counterrevolutionary effort must be firmly rejected, as must the support from outside of reactionary forces in the struggle against their own peoples. Each nation must decide on its national and social development road freely and must build the system it desires, without any outside interference. Irrespective of certain mistakes and difficulties in the socialist countries, life and reality demonstrate that the socialist system has eliminated class oppression for good, as well as national and social oppression and has ensured the rapid progress of peoples on the road of building a powerful economy and ensuring the peoples' well-being and independence.

We must understand that the struggle against war, against reactionary and fascist forces, against anticommunism, chauvinism, racism and anti-semitism constitutes part and parcel of the struggle for detente, peace and independence and for cooperation among all world nations, irrespective of social system. [applause]

Once again we want to express our full solidarity with the struggle waged by all peoples for independence and independent development. We believe that our epoch of eliminating colonialism, of freeing scores and scores of peoples, is the epoch of forcefully strengthening national independence, of creating new nation-states and nations. Respect for independence is a decisive factor for a policy of peace and cooperation and for mankind's socioeconomic development.

We also express our full solidarity with all peoples advocating, in one or another form, the socialist road for their socioeconomic development. The socialist tendency and option of more and more peoples is a basic characteristic of the current epoch. The diversity of the roads and forms of building socialism forcefully demonstrates the correctness of the scientific and revolutionary thesis according to which each people will proceed onto the road of socialism in conformity with the concrete historic and social realities in each country.

This diversity of socialist forms and options opens up new prospects for the peoples' struggle for a free, independent, better and more just life. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, Romania has acted and acts with great determination toward achieving European security proceeding from the fact that on the European Continent there are stockpiled huge military forces and powerful atomic-nuclear and conventional weapons representing a deadly danger for all peoples, for the existence of civilization and for life itself in Europe and throughout the world.

Therefore, we believe it is necessary to conclude as soon as possible the Madrid meeting, a gathering designed to offer new prospects for developing cooperation, trust and security in Europe. We advocate the organization of a conference on

security and confidence on our continent and the continuity of the meetings begun in Helsinki which ensure the development [Ceausescu corrects himself] The discussion of the complex problems of the current situation in Europe and throughout the world by the European states in order to overcome tension and strengthen cooperation.

It is more necessary than ever for us to do all we can to achieve a Europe without medium-range missiles, without any nuclear missiles or other nuclear weapons, and to achieve a united Europe based on respect for the social system in each country and on the desire to cooperate toward the socioeconomic development of each nation and toward resolving the great problems of the present-day world, including the problem of underdevelopment, in the interests of all peoples and of international cooperation.

We believe that the time has come to take more tangible actions in the direction of achieving an area without nuclear weapons in the Balkans, an area without foreign military bases. It is time to turn the Balkans into an area of peaceful cooperation and to develop cooperation in the direction of the socioeconomic development of each nation and of improving the well-being of each people.

In this spirit, we advocate the immediate preparation of a summit conference of the Balkan countries devoted to achieving those targets. This is part and parcel of the actions for security in Europe and an important contribution to achieving trust on the continent and is in keeping with the interests of each people and with those of peace and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

Esteemed comrades, in its international relations, Romania has acted and continues to act to constantly develop cooperation with all countries, irrespective of social system. In all our activity, we proceed from the need to establish interstate relations on the principles of equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and renunciation of the use of or threat to use force.

We are strongly developing relations with the socialist countries and, within this framework, we pay special attention to friendship and cooperation with neighboring countries. We deem it necessary to develop cooperation and solidarity with all the socialist countries and to act to strengthen their solidarity and unity. In our view, the time has come to take more determined actions toward overcoming certain differences and strengthening solidarity and cooperation, this being in the interests of every socialist country, of all socialist states and the cause of peace and international cooperation.

We attach great importance to and broadly develop relations with the developing countries. We believe that this is an important factor for the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for a new economic order and a policy of peace. In the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, we are also developing relations with the developed capitalist countries and with all world states, irrespective of social system.

In our relations with all countries, we proceed from the fact that the difference in the social system, in ideas, politics or philosophy, must not constitute an obstacle on the road of broad international cooperation based on equality, respect and mutual advantage. We believe that each country, be it big or small, has to assume responsibility to resolve international problems and to actively participate, on an equal footing, in finding solutions that will be in keeping with each nation's interests.

We attach great importance to the role of the nonaligned countries. We believe that it is necessary that everything should be done to overcome certain differences, so that the 1983 spring meeting in New Delhi will forcefully prove the unity and solidarity of these countries and that it will be an expression of their determination

to make efforts toward resolving the complex problems of the international situation and toward ensuring peace and the independence of peoples.

It is necessary to ensure a more important role for the United Nations and for other international bodies in democratically resolving all the problems of the international political arena.

Esteemed comrades, we attach great importance to cooperation and solidarity with the communist and workers parties. The diversity of social, national and historical conditions in which those parties carry out their activity, and the fact that many communist parties have become ruling parties, bring about differences of opinion and even divergencies in dealing with problems.

However, we believe that we must act in the direction of strengthening the solidarity and unity of the communist and workers parties to achieve a new unity based on respect for the independence of each party and on its right to formulate its political line, its strategy and tactics independently in keeping with the conditions in which it is carrying out its activity.

The differences in dealing with certain problems, the diversity of the roads of socialist development must not be an obstacle, but on the contrary must lead to strengthening cooperation and solidarity even more forcefully. The communist and workers parties today play a role of particular importance in the international arena, in the great struggle waged by the peoples for peace, independence, development and socioeconomic progress.

We firmly advocate and broadly develop relations with the socialist and social democratic parties. We advocate the strengthening of solidarity and cooperation concerning basic problems of the present-day epoch. We are also developing broad relations with the liberation movements, with the ruling parties in developing countries and with the democratic parties in all countries. This comes as part of the belief that strengthening cooperation among all those forces is a requirement of the current epoch and a factor of strengthening relations among peoples and of the struggle for independence and peace. [applause]

Events in past years demonstrate even more forcefully the increased role of the peoples' masses and of the peoples in the international arena. The large-scale peace demonstrations in Europe and on other continents this year, including in the United States -- demonstrations that were joined by our people with complete conviction -- convincingly demonstrate the increased role played by people's masses and by peoples in the struggle for stopping the arms race and for disarmament and peace.

We believe it is necessary for us to give new impetus to our people's activity and efforts in the direction of peace, to strengthen cooperation and solidarity with the peoples in Europe and on other continents, in the belief that through their firm actions the peoples are able to stop the trend toward a catastrophe in the international arena and are able to bring about the resumption of the trend toward detente, ensure the triumph of reason and to ensure the promotion of a policy of peace. [cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-Peace"]

To develop friendship and trust among peoples, it is necessary to intensify contacts between the people's masses and cooperation in the field of science and culture. An important role is incumbent, in this respect, on the mass media, on press, radio and television which, in the spirit of UN resolutions, must act toward a rapprochement and understanding among people, toward educating peoples, particularly the youth, in the spirit of the principles of peace, friendship and cooperation.

Unfortunately, the pages of certain mass media, and some radio and television programs publicize and transmit erroneous information and news, even tendentious information, that falsifies the realities in one or another country and disinforms public opinion and creates animosities and mistrust.

We believe that the time has come to put a halt to such a state of affairs. All mass media -- press, radio and television -- must make it their honorable duty to publicize and transmit true information that will act in the direction of understanding and friendship among peoples and that will help unite the efforts of peoples everywhere in their struggle for socioeconomic progress and for independence, peace and a better and more just world. [applause]

From this rostrum of the national conference, once again I would like to reassert the Romanian people's determination to act with all consistency to develop international relations and cooperation with all countries of the world, to make its active contribution to resolving the great problems in the world, and to ensure the independence of each people and its right to free development and to the triumph of the policy of international cooperation, of disarmament and peace on our planet. [cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-peace"]

Esteemed comrades, the subjects submitted to our party's national conference for discussion offer bright prospects for further developing our country along the road of socialism to ensure a more and more advanced civilization. They offer bright prospects for the struggle to constantly improve the material and cultural well-being and for the cause of peace and international cooperation.

I want to express the conviction that the participants in the conference will discuss the documents submitted, the problems on the agenda in the spirit of lofty revolutionary, communist and patriotic spirit of concern for the destiny of the Romanian socialist society and in a party-like, critical and self-critical spirit. I want to express the conviction that it will establish measures and make decisions that will ensure our people's firm progress and the fatherland's elevation onto new peaks of progress and civilization. [applause]

The conference must demonstrate that it lies in our power to overcome the difficulties that have emerged, that in close cooperation with all people our party will know how to lead Socialist Romania toward new victories. Thus, the great forum of the communists will fulfill its lofty duty and will ensure the further implementation of our party's historic mission of leading the entire nation in the construction of socialism and communism and in strengthening the fatherland's independence and sovereignty. [applause]

Let us be aware that the successful fulfillment of all targets of our society's socioeconomic development, the firm implementation of the domestic and foreign policy promoted by the party and state require that the party bodies and organizations, each activist and the leading cadres assume great responsibility.

This requires sustained activity in all fields to unite all our people's efforts. This is a guarantee for the resolute implementation of the 12th RCP Congress decisions and of the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania. [applause]

With complete confidence in our party's and our people's capability and in the unity of our party and people as an indestructible force, I want to express my full conviction that the decisions that will be adopted will ensure the elevation of our socialist nation onto new levels of progress and onto higher and higher peaks of well-being and civilization.

With this conviction once again I wish complete success to the RCP National Conference. Long live our heroic people -- conscious builder of socialism. [cheers, chants]

Long live the unity among all socialist countries, progressive and anti-imperialist forces everywhere; long live the unity of all realistic forces and of all peoples in the struggle for independence, for progress and for lasting peace on our planet. [cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-peace"]

Conference Continues 17 Dec

AU171433 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Summary] The RCP National Conference plenary proceedings resumed this morning. Twenty-five speakers addressed the conference, including Elena Ceausescu, Gheorghe Caranfil, Ion Totu, Trandafir Cocirla, Ion Olteanu, Gheorghe Oprea and Iosif Szasz. "The speakers pointed out the particular importance of the report presented to the conference by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu; this report represents a brilliant examination of the achievements attained in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan and a concrete program for the country's future development on the basis of continuously increasing quality and efficiency in all fields."

The delegates stressed the profound and scientific nature of assessments included in the party secretary general's report on the current stage of socialist construction in Romania and on topical international developments. "On behalf of the Communists they represent as well as all our people, the speakers fully endorsed the programs and measures stipulated in the report and in the other documents submitted for the approval of the party's national conference." All delegates pledged to unswervingly fulfill the tasks in their particular fields and to firmly implement the decisions to be adopted by the conference.

This afternoon the proceedings will resume in 11 sections.

Conference Ends; Changes Reported

AU181717 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 18 Dec 82

[Text] The last part of the RCP National Conference this morning was chaired by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Proceeding to the last point on the agenda, organizational measures, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that it has been proposed that the number of members of the RCP Central Committee should increase from 245 -- as was established at the 12th party congress -- to 251, while the number of candidate members should increase from 163 to 174. The conference unanimously endorsed those proposals.

Upon the proposal of the commission elected by the national conference, the delegations unanimously voted on the transition of the following comrades from candidate members to full members of the RCP Central Committee:

Nicu Ceausescu, secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth; Emilia Sonea, deputy chief of the Propaganda Section of the party Central Committee; and Ion Stanescu, minister and head of the department for constructions abroad.

The transition of the following comrades from members of the Central Auditing Commission to the rank of member of the RCP Central Committee: Ion M. Nicolae, deputy prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania; and Alexandru Roso, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

The election of the following comrades to the ranks of the RCP Central Committee: Radu Balan, first secretary of the Hunedoara County party committee; Manea Manescu, vice president of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Cornel Pacoste, first secretary of the Timis County party committee; and Ion Radu, first secretary of the Dolj County party committee.

The election of the following comrades to the ranks of candidate members of the RCP Central Committee: Dumitru Apostoiu, presidential and State Council secretary; Ioan

Bogdan Baluta, first secretary of the Bacau County party committee; Maria Bobu, deputy minister of justice and vice chairman of the National Women's Council. Ionel Cetateanu, counselor to the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Stela Chioveanu, first secretary of the Buzau County committee of the Union of Communist Youth; Gica Chiru, secretary for problems of propaganda of the Dimbovita County party committee; Ilie Cisu, first secretary of the Gorj County party committee; Poliana Cristescu, secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth. Ion Fratila, first secretary of the Vaslui County party committee; Stefania Ionescu, chairman of the 23 August agricultural production cooperative of Putineiu Commune, Teleorman County; Virgil Marcosan, first secretary of the Mehedinti County party Committee; Alexandru Neculam, minister of machine-tools, electrical engineering and electronics, Marin Nedelcu, counselor to the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Barbu Petrescu, deputy director general of the Central Institute for Economic Research; Barbu Popescu, first secretary of the Tulcea County party committee; Ioan Popescu-Iovit, rector of Bucharest University; Paula Prioteasa, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; Stefan Rab, first secretary of the Covasna County party committee; Constantin Radu; first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Bucharest Municipal People's Council; Eva Richter, secretary for economic affairs of the Covasna County party committee; Stan Soare, deputy chief of the Propaganda Section of the party Central Committee; Olimpia Solomonescu, chief of Department for Foreign Relations and International Economic Cooperation of the party Central Committee; Maria Stefan, secretary for problems of party work in agriculture at the Prahova County party committee; Decebal Urdea, director in the Ministry of Finance; and Ionel Silviu Vlad, rector of Cluj-Napoca University.

CEASUSCU LEAVES FOR USSR ANNIVERSARY FETE

AU200805 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 20 Dec 82

[Text] A short while ago Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, left for Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, to attend the festivities that will mark the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the USSR.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is accompanied by Comrades Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee and prime minister of the government, and Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs.

Present at Otopeni Airport were members and candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee, members of the State Council and of the government, leaders of central institutions and mass organizations, and generals. Also present were members of the USSR Embassy staff.

YUGOSLAV ARRESTED IN GENEVA REQUESTS ASYLUM

LD182334 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2102 GMT 18 Dec 82

[Text] Geneva, December 18 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia physician Dr Rajko Medenica [spelling of name as received] currently a remand prisoner, a partner in the affair of forged bills in the Geneva cantonal hospital, has asked for political asylum in Switzerland. With a group of collaborators Dr. Medenica caused heavy losses to the Yugoslav social security.

On October 29, Medenica was arrested in Geneva and charged with "fraud, forging documents, usury and extortion". Rajko Medenica's lawyer has now requested that his client be temporarily released on bail of between two to three hundred thousand Swiss francs. The Swiss press reports that the court has discussed the request, but that the decisions will be announced next week.

Opposing the request for the release on bail, the public prosecutor's office representative warned that the investigation begun on November [number indistinct] merely provide further evidence for the suspected offense of Rajko Medenica. The prosecutor revealed for the first time that Medenica has some ten private accounts and that he had authorized his wife to draw from his accounts. The prosecutor also stated in court that the investigative judge will soon hear several department chiefs and Dr. Medenica's colleagues in Geneva, as well as some former and current cantonal ministers.

USSR SENDS SPECIAL MESSAGE, NO DETAILS DISCLOSED

LD172333 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1621 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 17 (TANJUG) -- The Soviet leadership has sent a special message to President of Yugoslavia Presidency Petar Stambolic. The message was delivered today, Friday, to Yugoslav Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mjosov by Soviet Ambassador to Yugoslavia Nikolay Rodionov.

No further details were disclosed.

GANDHI INVITES STAMBOLIC TO NONALIGNED CONFERENCE

LD181836 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1340 GMT 18 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade, December (?18) (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov today (Saturday) received India's Ambassador to Yugoslavia Ashoke Sen Chib [TANJUG spelling].

The Indian ambassador presented a letter of invitation from Prime Minister Indira Gandhi for President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Petar Stambolic to participate in the seventh conference of the heads of state or government of the nonaligned countries in New Delhi from March 7 through 11 next year.

In the letter, Indira Gandhi points out the great importance of the holding of the seventh and nonaligned summit in the Indian capital, with the unanimous support of the heads of state or government of the nonaligned countries. She also draws attention to the very difficult international political and economic circumstances in which the conference will take place and expresses confidence that its successful outcome will have a powerful effect on halting the present dangerous developments in the world.

ARMY BUDGET REQUEST UP 32 PERCENT, SURPRISE NOTED

AU181926 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 82 p 7

[R. Cirkovic report]

[Excerpts] According to the latest calculation, the federal budget for the next year will amount to 246,332,000,000 dinars. This essential change in amount will extend the total expenditure of the federation beyond the limits set to it by the draft resolution for next year and thus increase it as much as 24.3 percent, instead of 13 percent as was previously planned.

This change is due to the requests of the Yugoslav People's Army that the amount planned for the army be increased by 22 billion dinars, or 32 percent. None of the other users of budget funds would be given a single dinar over the limit of a 13 percent increase. The whole burden of the budget increase would fall upon the republics and provinces because the original revenue of the federation has been exhausted. The commitments of republics and provinces to the federal budget would thus increase 41.5 percent.

Most of the delegates of the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations received this latest change in the budget for next year with a certain surprise. Despite the sensitivity of the budget user concerned, Stefica Bahtijarevic called attention to the fact that, in all difficult periods in our history, it was not only the army but the people who defended the country.

Vilmos Molnar stated that this change in the budget is contrary to the third plenum conclusions. He noted that it would certainly lead to a change in the resolution's text and that it is not in accordance with our stabilization plans.

Representatives of the Federal Executive Council explained that republics and provinces have to find new sources to meet their new commitments.

SLOVENE ASSEMBLY REJECTS FEDERAL BUDGET HIKE

AU181927 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 14 Dec 82 p 5

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 13 Dec -- The Slovene Assembly today rejected the latest proposal of the Federal Executive Council, in which the republics and provinces would have to provide 22.4 billion dinars more for next year's federal budget than was fixed in the draft federal budget. The Federal Executive Council proposal would mean that the federal budgetary spending next year would be 24 percent higher than this year. This would mean a considerable deviation from the generally adopted social orientation that all kinds of spending next year could increase at most by 13 percent. If the assembly were to adopt the Federal Executive Council proposal, then the Slovene workers next year would have to pay as much as 3 percent tax on their gross income instead of the present 1 percent.

The increase in the federal budget of 22.4 billion dinars should be used to finance the Yugoslav People's Army. However, when discussing the amendments to the law on financing the federation, the Slovene Assembly demanded that the funds for financing the Yugoslav People's Army should be divided between that part which is used for functional military expenses (these expenses should not increase more than other spending) and that part which would ensure the realization of the programs for modernizing the army.

According to the draft federal budget, Slovenia next year must pay 14.4 billion dinars to the federation. In this connection it is necessary to point out that Slovenia's revenue for the basic turnover tax is insufficent to meet its entire obligation to the federal budget, as other republics are able to do. To meet this obligation, the republic must also use other revenue from taxes. Nonetheless, this year Slovenia will owe 2.8 billion dinars, which it will have to pay next year. This means that in 1983 it will have to collect as much as 17.2 billion dinars for the federal budget. This is as much as 30 percent more than this year's contribution.

In addition to scraping up all the reserves of the republican budget, the Slovene Executive Council will have to propose that its assembly adopt a law diverting the present 3-percent communal turnover tax from the communal budgets to the republican one so that these obligations may be met. Likewise, the assembly would also have to vote to increase the republican personal income tax (from 1 percent to 1.3 percent).

If the supplementary proposal by the Federal Executive Council is taken into consideration, Slovenia would have to permit another 3.54 billion dinars to the federal budget. Rudi Sepic, republican secretary for finance, explained to the delegates that the Slovene Executive Council established that it could not fulfill such an additional obligation. The money could be collected only if the tax on the personal incomes of workers were increased by 1.7 percent, which means that those employed in Slovenia would have to pay as much as 3 percent of their gross monthly incomes.

The Slovene delegation in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly will therefore advocate the position that federal budgetary expenditure next year increase by only 13 percent.

USTASHA WRITER CONVICTED FOR ACTIVITIES IN SWEDEN

AU171224 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 82 p 12

[V.J. report]

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Dec -- Vjekoslav Mihalic (41) from Zagreb has been sentenced to 6 years in prison by the Zagreb District Court for hostile activities against the SFRY during his stay in Sweden.

The Grand Council of the Zagreb District Court, presided over by Judge Ivan Prockovic, has pronounced this verdict after a 1-day hearing during which the accused, confronted with extensive evidence, admitted his connection with the most recalcitrant members of various Ustasha emigre terrorist organizations. He also admitted writing articles for these organizations' organs in which he had called for unconstitutional change of our socialist self-managing social order and for destroying the brotherhood and unity and the equality of peoples and nationalities in the SFRY.

LATE REPORT: STAMBOLIC CABLES GREETINGS TO USSR

Expresses 'Appreciation,' 'Best Wishes'

LD201350 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1152 GMT 20 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Dec (TANJUG) -- Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent a telegram to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on behalf of the SFRY Presidency, marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR.

As well as conveying congratulations on the occasion of this major anniversary, the telegram says among other things that the results being achieved by the friendly people of the Soviet Union in the socialist building of its country are followed in the SFRY with a feeling of appreciation. The message expressed best wishes for success and further progress in every way.

The telegram also lays stress on the importance attached and attention paid to further promoting Soviet-Yugoslav relations and expanding cooperation between the two countries. It expresses the conviction that highly developed friendly relations and comprehensive and fruitful cooperation, firmly based on the principles established in joint documents adopted at the highest level, represent the lasting joint interests of the peoples of the SFRY and the USSR and serve understanding and cooperation in the world and thus also peace, socialism and general progress.

Kolisevski, Stojanovic Lead Delegation

LD201356 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 20 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Dec (TANJUG) -- A Yugoslav delegation, comprising Lazar Kolisevski, member of the SFRY Presidency, and Nikola Stojanovic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, left Belgrade for Moscow by air today for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the USSR. In Moscow the delegation will be joined by Milojko Drulovic, SFRY ambassador.

A delegation of socipolitical organizations, consisting of Bogoljub Nedeljkovic, president of the Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, Vladimir Scekic, president of the Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia; Dr Branka Lazic, president of the Conference for the Social Activity of Women of Yugoslavia; and Branko Parac, member of the Presidium of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, has also left for Moscow for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the USSR.

At Surcin Airport they were seen off by Sergej Kraigher, member of the SFRY Presidency; Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Stane Dolanc, federal secretary for internal affairs; Petar Gracanin, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army; Mihajlo Brajovic, vice president of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly; Vuko Dragasevic, secretary general of the SFRY Presidency, and others.

The departure was also attended by Edvard Krasavin, charge d'affaires of the USSR Embassy in Belgrade.